

© 2020

Alia Nour-Elsayed

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

EGYPTIAN-FRENCH ENCOUNTERS:
ART AND NATIONAL IDENTITY, 1867-1928

By

ALIA NOUR-ELSAYED

A dissertation submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Written under the direction of

Susan Sidlauskas

And Approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May, 2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

EGYPTIAN-FRENCH ENCOUNTERS: ART AND NATIONAL IDENTITY 1867-1928

By ALIA NOUR-ELSAYED

Dissertation Director:
Susan Sidlauskas

This dissertation explores the complex dynamic of Egyptian-French encounters between 1867 and 1928, focusing on how the Egyptians—ruling elite and nationalists—used and adapted European traditions for visual representation to serve their own ends. It consists of four case studies—those of the Egyptian exhibition at the Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris, the opening of the Suez Canal inauguration in 1869, the commemoration of the Khedivial dynasty with public monuments, and the evolving images of the Egyptian female peasant or *fallaha* from French costume book in the nineteenth century to a symbol of the Egyptian nation in the early twentieth century. These case studies reveal several recurring themes. First, art was a major vehicle for propaganda, projecting a political message, and later symbolizing Egypt's modern identity. Second, Egyptian-French encounters were embedded in a complex web of mutual interests, with an audible Egyptian voice. Third, some of the Egyptians and French citizens who crossed borders came to have a dual orientation, and thus became a “hyphen” linking the East and West.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My dissertation journey has been wrought with some challenges and many joyful moments of discovery. Along the way many people helped me achieve it.

I would like to thank my doctoral committee members for their advice and feedback. Special thanks go to Professor Susan Sidlauskas, my advisor, who has pushed me to expand my boundaries and find my inner voice. I am grateful for her support, encouragement, and advice. I am especially indebted to Professor Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, who was my advisor for my Masters Thesis in Museum Professions at Seton Hall University. She was the first to trigger my interest in nineteenth-century art history, and has since been my mentor and a friend. I continue to benefit from her critical comments and feedback. Professor Andres Zervigón, who supervised my Masters thesis in Art History at Rutgers University, has been the source of many insights. I am grateful for Professor Tamara Sears' thoughtful feedback. I would also like to thank some of the faculty members at Rutgers University whom I have worked with or sought their advice during my graduate study: Professors Joan Marter, John Kenfield, Catherine Puglisi, Laura Weigert, Tanya Sheehan, and Tarek Kahlaoui. Thanks also to Geralyn Colvil, the Department Administrator Supervisor, for graciously keeping track of everything and answering my questions promptly. Other scholars in the field were helpful, and I would like to particularly acknowledge Professors Ulku Bates and Zeynep Çelik.

I am grateful to those who assisted me in my research in Egypt. My gratitude goes to Ezz El-Din Shawkat for introducing me to the right people. I would like to thank his Excellency Hilmy El-Namnam, the former Minister of Culture, and past Head of the National Archives and Library of Egypt, as well as Dr. Nevine Muhammad, the

Chairman of the National Archives of Egypt. Special thanks go to Nadia Mostafa Elsayed, the supervisor of the Egyptian National Archives research room. Ahmad El Bindari's advice and the contact information he gave me were especially helpful. I am also grateful to Aladin Abdel Naby's assistance with photographing some of the public monuments in Cairo.

While working on the dissertation, I have published abridged versions of two of the chapters. Chapter One in *MDCCC 1800*, 6 (2017), entitled "Egyptian-French Cultural Encounters at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867;" and Chapter Two in *Making Waves: Crosscurrents in the Study of Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honour of Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu* (2019), under the title, "Egyptian-French Cultural Encounters at the Opening of the Suez Canal in 1869."

Going to graduate school while working full time was a challenge but also a blessing. My work as Curator of the Dahesh Museum of Art in New York City, has offered me the opportunity to explore an extremely wide and rich artistic period of the nineteenth century. I am grateful to the Museum's Board of Trustees, especially Amira Zahid for her unwavering support and encouragement, without, which this project would not have been completed. My appreciation goes to Dr. David J. Farmer, the Museum's Director of Exhibitions, and his wife, Pat Farmer, for their engagement and comments on my work. I also want to thank Stephen Edidin, the Museum's Deputy Director and Chief Curator for his help. Thanks also to John Webley, former Curatorial Research Associate at the Museum for his assistance.

Finally, this journey would not have been possible without the love and support of my family. My father, Mahmud Hammad, who instilled in me that seeking knowledge is an endless process. My mother, Aida Nour, always pushed me to do my best, and to

never give up. Her unconditional love and support continue to be my beacon of light. My sister and best friend, Basma Nour, has been with me in every step of this process. Her creative suggestions, input, help, and her encouragement have been invaluable. Last, but not least, my husband, Nabil Elsayed, has pushed me to pursue this dream, and along the way he has given me endless support and encouragement. His critical feedback and editorial contributions have helped realize this project. This work is dedicated to my family.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

For the transliteration of Arabic, I used the transliteration chart and guide of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. All diacritical marks have been omitted except for the ayn (‘), and the hamza (’). For names of familiar figures and places, I have used either the accepted spelling standard, or previously used transliteration. Inconsistencies, however, cannot be avoided in some names. All translations from French or Arabic into English are my own, unless specified otherwise. For French translations, I have included the original text in the footnotes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.....	VI
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VII
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	X
INTRODUCTION	1
Historical Overview	6
Egyptian Perceptions of the Khedivial Dynasty	10
Outline of Chapters	17
CHAPTER 1	21
EGYPT AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE OF 1867	21
Introduction.....	21
The Organization and Design of the Egyptian Section in Paris.....	24
Egypt at the Champ de Mars.....	31
Ancient Egypt: The Cradle of Civilization	32
Medieval Egypt: The Cultural Center of the Islamic World.....	37
Modern Egypt: Revival and Modernization under Isma‘il	43
The Suez Canal Pavilion: A Modern Marvel.....	48
The Khedive at the Exposition.....	50
Conclusion	52
CHAPTER 2	55
THE OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL IN 1869	55

Introduction.....	55
From Ancient Egyptian times to the Nineteenth Century.....	58
Shaping the Opening Ceremonies.....	62
Prelude to the Official Inauguration: Cairo and Upper Egypt.....	67
The Inauguration Ceremonies from Port Sa‘id to Isma‘ilia.....	73
Conclusion	83
CHAPTER 3	86
COMMEMORATING THE KHEDIVIAL DYNASTY	86
Introduction.....	86
Between Paris and Cairo.....	89
Exhibiting the Statues in Paris	102
The Statues Unveiled in Egypt	103
Other Public Statues.....	108
The Egyptian Perception.....	112
Conclusion	115
CHAPTER 4	117
FROM COSTUME BOOK “TYPE” TO SYMBOL OF NATION: EGYPT’S <i>FALLAHA</i>	117
Introduction.....	117
The <i>Fallaha</i> in French Costume Books	121
The <i>Fallaha</i> in French Paintings and Sculpture	127
The <i>Fallaha</i> and the Egyptian Search for National Identity.....	137
The <i>Fallaha</i> Embodies Egypt.....	141
Conclusion	153
CONCLUSION.....	156

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	161
ILLUSTRATIONS	172

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1: Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, granite, erected in 1928, Giza, Egypt.

Fig. 2: After D. Lancelot, “Temple,” engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris: Dentu, 1867).

Fig. 3: After D. Lancelot, “Salamlik,” engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris: Dentu, 1867).

Fig. 4: After D. Lancelot, “Wikala,” engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris : Dentu, 1867).

Fig. 5: After M. Gaildrau, “Egyptian House (and stables),” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 4 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 6: After D. Lancelot, “Isthmus of Suez,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 8 (Paris : Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 7: “HRH Isma‘il Pasha Viceroy of Egypt,” engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris : Dentu, 1867).

Fig. 8: After M. Cecéri. “The Oriental Quarter,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 49 (Paris : Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 9: “Construction of the Egyptian Temple,” engraving, in *The Illustrated London News* (23 March 1867).

Fig. 10: After J. Gaildrau, “Egyptian Temple,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 4 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 11: After D. Lancelot, “Egyptian Temple Interior,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 27 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 12: After Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, “Champollion,” engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal* (25 August to 1 September 1, 1867).

Fig. 13: “Salamlik Interior” (showing marble bust of Isma‘il), engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal Universel* (7 December 1867).

Fig. 14: Charles Cordier, *Portrait of Khedive Isma‘il*, marble, Manial Palace, Cairo.

Fig. 15: “The Ottoman Quarter,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (2 March 1867).

Fig. 16: “Mannequins with Costumes in the Egyptian section,” engraving, in *The Illustrated London News*, (11 May 1867).

Fig. 17: After J. Gaildrau, “Artisans in the Wikala,” engraving, in *L’Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 22 (Paris: Bureaux d’abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 18: “Isthmus of Suez Pavilion, A Conference of M. de Lesseps,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (28 September 1867).

Fig. 19: “Panorama of the Isthmus of Suez at the Exposition universelle of 1867, panorama by Auguste Rubé and Philippe Chaperon,” engraving, in *L’Univers illustré* (Paris, 1867).

Fig. 20: “Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie with Khedive Isma‘il at the Temple,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (13 July 1867).

Fig. 21: After Dominique Grenet, “Panorama of the Isthmus of Suez,” in Paul Merruau, “Une excursion au Canal de Suez,” in *Le Tour du Monde, Nouveau Journal des Voyages* (Paris : Librairie de L. Hachette, 1862).

Fig. 22: “Versailles. – Celebration given for the Viceroy at the Grand Trianon. – The Empress and Viceroy Visit the Park after lunch,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (17 July 1869).

Fig. 23: Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Gateway to the Orient*, 1869, oil on canvas, Musée des beaux-arts, Marseille.

Fig. 24: After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Inauguration of the Isthmus of Suez. The Moeris deck, Imperial Messageries vessel transporting the press invitees: Mrs. de Lesseps, Nubar Pasha, Doctor Isambert, Guillaume, Gérôme, Charles Blanc, Lambert de la Croix, Tarbé, Théophile Gautier,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (23 October 1869).

Fig. 25: “Celebration of the Isthmus of Suez- Inauguration of the Circus in Cairo,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (6 November 1869).

Fig. 26: After photograph by M. Désiré and drawing by M. Auguste Marc, “Voyage of HM the Empress -Gezira Palace, Residence of Her HM in Cairo,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (13 November 1869).

Fig. 27: After photograph by M. Désiré, “Voyage of HM the Empress – Gezira Palace, Residence of Her HM in Cairo – side garden view,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (13 November 1869).

Fig. 28: After M. Auguste Marc, “Gezira Palace, Residence of HM in Cairo – Her Majesty’s Bedroom,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (27 November 1869).

Fig. 29: After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Egypt – Voyage of the Khedive’s invitees. – Lunch at the Ramesseum, in Thebes,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869).

Fig. 30: After Édouard Riou, “The Sovereign’s Pavilion (La tribune des souverains),” 1870, colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869).

Fig. 31: After Édouard Riou, “Religious Ceremony on the Port Said Shore (Cérémonie Religieuse sur la plage de Port Saïd),” 1870, colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869).

Fig. 32: After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Inauguration of the Isthmus of the Suez Canal, – Port Said. – The Inauguration Religious Ceremony. – Bishop Bauer’s Speech,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (4 December 1869).

Fig. 33: After William Simpson, “Opening of the Suez Canal: Blessing the Canal in the Presence of Imperial and Royal Visitors,” engraving, in *The Illustrated London News* (11 December 1869).

Fig. 34: After Alfred-Henri Darjou, top: “Celebrations of Isma‘ilia. Grand Fantasia by the Different Desert Tribes, the 18th of November;” bottom: “The Entry of Ships in Lake Timsah,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869).

Fig. 35: After Édouard Riou, “Promenade in Isma‘ilia,” colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869).

Fig. 36: After Édouard Riou, “The Sovereigns’ Supper in Isma‘ilia (Le souper des souverains à Ismaïlia),” colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869).

Fig. 37: Fannièrre Frères, *Ferdinand de Lesseps’ Ship*, 1869, silver, Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris.

Fig. 38: “Bust of Lieutenant Wag horn, by M. Vital Dupris on a Pier in Port Sa‘id,” in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (23 December 1869).

Fig. 39: Charles Cordier, *Equestrian Statue of Ibrahim Pasha* (exhibited at the 1872 Paris Salon), bronze, al-Opera Square, Cairo.

Fig. 40: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Equestrian Statue of Muhammad ‘Ali* (exhibited at the 1872 Paris Salon), bronze, Tahrir Square, Alexandria.

Fig. 41: Charles Fuller, *Equestrian Statue of Sultan ‘Abdul‘aziz*, 1872, bronze, Beylerbeyi Palace, Istanbul, in “Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt,” by Klaus Kreiser, *Muqarnas* 14 (1997).

Fig. 42: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Soliman Pasha Statue* (exhibited at the 1874 Paris Salon), bronze, in front of Military Museum, Citadel, Cairo.

Fig. 43: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Lazoghli Pasha Statue* (exhibited at the 1875 Paris Salon), bronze, Lazoghli Square, Cairo.

Fig. 44: Charles Cordier, *Egyptian Fountain, Personification of the White Nile, the Blue Nile, and the Nile in the Figures of a Nubian Woman, Abyssinian Woman, and Egyptian Peasant Woman* (location unknown), plaster model (exhibited at the 1869 Salon), location unknown, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004).

Fig. 45: Louis-Messidor Petitot, *Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV*, erected 1836, bronze, Versailles.

Fig. 46: Charles-Pierre-Victor Pajot, *Equestrian Statue of Napoleon I*, erected 1867, bronze, Montreau-Fault-Yonne.

Fig. 47: After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *The Battle of Konia*, ca. 1948, bronze bas-relief, al-Opera Square, Cairo, in *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*, by Khaled. Fahmy (Cambridge Middle East studies, 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Fig. 48: After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *Taking of Saint Joan of Arc*, ca. 1948, bronze bas-relief, al-Opera Square, Cairo, in *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*, by Khaled. Fahmy (Cambridge Middle East studies, 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Fig. 49: After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *The Battle of Konia*, bronze bas-relief, Signature Detail "After Cordier Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag," al-Opera Square, Cairo.

Fig. 50: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Louis XII* (exhibited at the Paris Salon 1869), bronze bas-relief, in front of the Hotel de la Ville bronze, Compiègne.

Fig. 51: After Ambroise Baudry, *Ibrahim Pasha Monument*, watercolor, in *L'Egypte d'un architecte: Ambroise Baudry, 1838-1906*, ed. by Leconte Crosnier, Marie-Laure, and Mercedes Volait, (Paris: Somogy Editions d'art, 1998).

Fig. 52: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Lions at Kasr al-Nil Bridge*, erected 1873, bronze, Kasr al-Nil, Cairo. Lehnert & Landrock, manual reproduction from a serie[s] of negative taken 1904 in Tunis or 1924 in Egypt."

Fig. 53: *Le Grelot Au Salon de 1872: le Salon de 1872 / dépeint et dessiné par Bertall* (Paris, 1872), p. 26.

Fig. 54: "Celebrations of Cairo, the Procession of the Princess and Crown Prince," in *L'Illustration* (22 February 1873).

Fig. 55: "Ibrahim Pasha's Statue, at Midan Azbak," in *Les Cahiers d'histoire Egyptienne* (Cairo: Dist. by Au Bouquiniste Oriental, 1948).

Fig. 56: Charles Cordier, *Equestrian Statue of Ibrahim Pasha* (replica), bronze, Citadel, Cairo.

Fig. 57: Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Soliman Pasha Statue* (back side), bronze, in front of Military Museum, Citadel, Cairo.

Fig. 58: After M. J. A. Baucé, “Muhammad ‘Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, and Soliman Pasha,” engraving, in *L'Égypte au XIXe siècle: Histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim-Pacha, Soliman-Pacha (colonel Sèves)*, by Edouard Gouin (Paris: P. Boizard, 1847).

Fig. 59: “Soliman Pasha, Major General of the Egyptian Army under Ibrahim Pasha, a bronze statue by Henri Alfred Jacquemart, No 2946, displayed out of competition, designed to decorate a Square in Cairo,” in *Albums des salons du XIXe siècle; salon de 1874*.

Fig. 60: “Mahomed-Bey Lazzogloer [Lazoghli Pasha], First Minister of Muhammad ‘Ali,” bronze statue by Henri Alfred Jacquemart, No 3170, displayed out of competition, designed to decorate a public square in Cairo,” in *Albums des salons du XIXe siècle; salon de 1875*.

Fig. 61: Charles Landelle, *The Fallah Woman* (La femme fellah), date unknown, oil on canvas, Musée de Laval, Laval.

Fig. 62: Charles Cordier, *Fallah Women (Veiled and Unveiled) Going to Draw Water from the Nile*, ca. 1866, bronze, (location unknown), in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004).

Fig. 63: After D. Lancelot, “Relief plan of the Canal and Model of the Works. Suez Canal Company Pavilion, 1867,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 22 (Paris : Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868).

Fig. 64: Alexandre Bida and E. Barbot, book cover, *Souvenirs d'Égypte [...]* (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier et C^{ie}, 1851).

Fig. 65: Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *Egypt Enlightening Asia*, 1869, watercolor glued on paper. Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, in *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal*, by Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009).

Fig. 66: Léopold Savine, *Mustafa Kamil Monument*, bronze, Mustafa Kamil Square, Cairo.

Fig. 67: Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, granite, erected in 1928, Giza, Egypt.

Fig. 68: Village of state labourers at Dayr al-Madinah (Deir el-Medina), *Tomb of Sennedjem, New Kingdom, Dynasty XIX*, fresco depicting agricultural scenes in the fields of Ialu.

Fig. 69: After Conté, and Voyez, 1. “Says or Groom (Sâys ou palefrenier) 2. “Woman of the People (Femme du peuple),” engraving, in “État Moderne,” vol. 2, pl. A, *Description de l’Égypte ou recueil des observations et recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française, par ordre du gouvernement* (Paris: De L’imprimerie Royale, 1817).

Fig. 70: After Edward William Lane, “Women and Children of the Lower Classes,” engraving, in *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, by Edward William Lane, 5th ed., ed. Edward Stanley Poole (London: John Murray, 1871).

Fig. 71: After Emile Prisse d’Avennes, *Fallah Woman*, color lithograph, in *Oriental album. Characters, costumes, and modes of life, in the valley of the Nile*, by James Augustus St. John and Émile Prisse d’Avennes (London: James Madden, 1851), pl. 13.

Fig. 72: After Prisse d’Avennes. *Female of the middle-class carrying water from the Nile*, color lithograph, in *Oriental album. Characters, costumes, and modes of life, in the valley of the Nile*, by James Augustus St. John and Émile Prisse d’Avennes (London: James Madden, 1851), pl. 14.

Fig. 73: After Alexandre Bida, *A Fallah Woman*, color lithograph, in *Souvenirs d’Égypte [...]*, by Alexandre Bida and Emile Prosper Barbot (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier et C^{ie}, 1851).

Fig. 74: Alexandre Bida, *A Fallah Woman of Cairo*, color lithograph, in *Souvenirs d’Égypte [...]*, by Alexandre Bida and Emile Prosper Barbot (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier et C^{ie}, 1851).

Fig. 75: Léon Belly, *Fallaheen Women by the Nile* (Femmes fellahs au bord du Nil), 1863, Private collection.

Fig. 76: Charles-Emile-Hippolyte-Lecomte-Vernet, *Fallah Woman Carrying Her Child* (Femme fellah portant son enfant), 1864, oil on canvas, Musée La-Roche-sur-Yon.

Fig. 77: After Charles Landelle, *The Fallah Woman*, engraving, in *L’Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 2, no. 38, (Paris : Bureaux d’abonnements, 1868), p. 116.

Fig. 78: Charles Cordier, *Fallah Woman or Egyptian Woman with pitcher on her head*, ca. 1866, bronze, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004).

Fig. 79: Charles Cordier, *Fallah Woman Going to Fetch Water from the Nile*, ca. 1866, bronze, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004).

Fig. 80: *Moorish Villa*, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004).

Fig. 81: After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Corvée fallahin preparing the route for the Empress to pass, on the way to Denderah,” in *Le Monde illustré* (27 November 1869).

Fig. 82: Auguste Bartholdi, Maquette for *Egypt Bringing Light to Asia*, 1869, terra cotta, Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, in *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal*, by Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009), p. 49.

Fig. 83: Faustin Glavany, “The Temple of Peace,” *L’Illustration* (23 November 1867).

Fig. 84 a: Hippolyte Arnoux, “Port Sa’id Lighthouse, photographed around 1880,” in *Les phares d’Égypte : laboratoire et conservatoire de l’ingénierie européenne du xix^e siècle*, by Claudine Piaton, *ABE Journal* [online], 5 | 2014.

Fig. 84 b: “The lighthouse past and current,” in *Port-Saïd: architectures XIXe-XXe siècles*, by Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure, Gamal al-Ghitani, Nagib Amin, Raymond Collet, and Arnaud Du Boistesselin. (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2006).

Fig. 85: Arabic Magazine Cover, 1899, in *Samir, Mickey, Sindbad, et les autres : Histoire de la presse enfantine en Égypte*, by Bertrand Millet (Le Caire : Centre d’études et de documentation économique juridique et sociale, c. 1987).

Fig. 86: *Le Lotus, Revue Mensuelle*, no. 1 (April 1901).

Fig. 87: Leopold Savine. *Mustapha Kamil Monument* (detail), bronze, Mustafa Kamil Square.

Fig. 88: Henri-Alfred Jacquemart, *Auguste Mariette Monument*, bronze, Pas-de-Calais, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

Fig. 89: Medal after the Seal of the First French Republic, 1792. Private Collection. Artist Historic Object.

Fig. 90: Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, 1920 (clay model exhibited at the 1920 Paris Salon), in *Al-Mathal Mukhtar*, by Badr al-Din Abu Ghazi (Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmiya lil-Ṭiba‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964).

Fig. 91: “Work on *Nadat Misr* on the Eve of its Unveiling,” *Al Hilal* (May 1928), in *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt*, by Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2004).

Introduction

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Egypt, nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire, underwent dramatic transformations. This period of Western imperialism intersected with reform and modernization, which was to result in a nascent Egyptian nationalism. At first, Egyptians—mostly the elite—looked towards Europe, and especially to France for their project of modernity. Thus, French aesthetics would come to play an important role in the foundation of an image of indigenous nationhood for Egypt. The French three-year expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) brought scholars, artists, and the first printing press with Arabic type. By the middle of the nineteenth century, after improved means of transportation, European writers, curious travelers, scholars, and artists flocked to Egypt. It was only in the early twentieth century, that a School of Fine Arts was founded in Cairo to provide formal training to Egyptian artists.¹ What happened during the intervening years? What was the relationship between European artists—mostly French—and indigenous patrons? How did European culture and aesthetic ideals, French imagery and tutelage, impact the redefinition of an Egyptian national identity? How did modernism express itself through Egyptian artists attempting to reconcile their complex native ethnic heritage with a newly acquired universal aesthetic medium? These are some of the questions that I will be posing.

My dissertation will explore the complex dynamic of Egyptian-French encounters between 1867 and 1928, focusing on how the Egyptians—elite and nationalists—used and adapted European traditions for visual representation to serve their own ends. The

¹ There was a general Islamic prohibition towards the depiction of figural art, which was not strictly followed by the Ottoman rulers and Muhammad 'Ali dynasty. An Academy of Fine Arts had opened in Istanbul in 1883. In Egypt, in the late nineteenth century, figural art was taught privately among the upper-class segment. Four years after the Egyptian theologian Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) proclaimed a religious decree legalizing figural imagery, the school opened in Cairo, which I will return to in Chapter 4.

narrative begins with the Egyptian display at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, which Viceroy, Isma'il Pasha (r. 1863-79) used to assert his country's independence and global stature. Following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha (r. 1805-48), the founder of the dynasty, Isma'il continued to institute modernization and Western-inspired reforms, primarily to gain independence from the Ottoman Empire and assert his country as a global power. To accomplish this, both men imported European technology, science, and expertise, whereby the French played a dominant role, especially in the military, educational, urban renewal, and cultural fields.

The period ends in 1928, when the monumental sculpture *Nahdat Misr* (Egyptian Awakening, 1919-28) was unveiled (fig. 1). Created by the first modern Egyptian sculptor Mahmud Mukhtar, it depicts the sphinx rising and *fallaha* (peasant woman) lifting her veil. While the sphinx symbolizes ancient Egyptian civilization and suggests Egypt's renaissance, the peasant woman represents fertile, modern, Egypt and its nationalism. I propose that the two strands; namely Egyptian-French cultural encounters and sociopolitical changes came together in remarkable ways, generating a new form of indigenous nationalism and art movement that appropriated and adapted new methods, techniques, and styles. That this new indigenous form was recognizably rooted from Egypt's history testifies to the capacity of the country for fostering a new kind of modernity, fortified by the skills, training, and models learned through the French.

I will draw from the scholarship in the field of Orientalist Visual Studies, setting it within a historical and sociopolitical context. After Edward Said published his famous book *Orientalism* in 1978, the word "Orientalism" became a politically and ideologically charged term that refers to the West's desire to assume a position of power and

dominance, through the false representation of the Orient.² Said's approach was then transposed into the visual arts by the art historian Linda Nochlin in her 1983 essay "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*.³

Until recently, critics, and interlocutors across the spectrum of interdisciplinary fields are engaging with, and still revising Said's notion of Orientalism.⁴ The historian John MacKenzie in *Orientalism: History: Theory and the Arts* (1995) countered its political and ideological association, and instead asserted that in spite of the disparity in the balance of power, that many Orientalist artists were not concerned with imperial motives—in many instances they were driven by market forces.⁵

In the last two decades postcolonial studies has reassessed Orientalism, shifting the focus from Western discursive constructions of a hegemonic Orient to one that is heterogeneous and contested. The postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha proposed the concept of hybridity, instead of focusing on the division between West and East. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), he argues that the situation created by colonial powers, while

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). Said was not the first to address the issues of misrepresentation or political and cultural colonialism. Some important works include Aimé Césaire's 1939 poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* ([Paris]: Bordas, 1947); Frantz Fanon's 1952 publication *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008); Michel Leiris, "L'ethnographe devant le colonialisme," in *Les Temps Modernes* 58 (1950), reprinted in *Cinq études d'ethnologie*, (Paris: Gonthier, 1969) 83-112; Anwar Abdel Malak "Orientalism in Crisis," *Diogenes* 44 (Winter 1963), 107-108; and Abdul Latif Tibawi, "English Speaking Orientalists," *Islamic Quarterly* 8 (1964), 25-45.

³ Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, by Linda Nochlin (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 33-57.

⁴ Some art historians embraced Nochlin's Saidian approach, such as Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1996); and Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). Others did not follow, like Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers, 1828-1908* (Paris: ACR Edition, 1983); and Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998).

⁵ John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

beyond control, could be accommodated, and the articulation of the difference by minorities could be seen as “a complex ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.”⁶

With the emergence of postcolonial studies, more art historians have also begun to interpret Orientalist art as an expression of cross-cultural interactions, in which “Orientals” produced counternarratives. Zeynep Çelik’s *Displaying the Orient* (1992) was one of the first to take this direction. Focusing on Islamic architectural displays in nineteenth-century Universal Exhibitions, Çelik underscores the mutual recognition and communication that existed between the West and East, thus refuting the stasis and fixity of colonial stereotypes.⁷ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby in *Extremities* (2002) employs cultural and social history, as well as diverse theoretical frameworks in interpreting six French nineteenth-century paintings to show they are about the Empire’s own “loss, degradation and failure rather than about Western notions of mastery and conquest.”⁸ A group of essays in *Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (2002) focusing on cross-cultural interactions explores, for example, various hybrid aesthetics of indigenous and diasporic cultures.⁹ *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture* (2005) also advances the current debate in the field of Orientalist studies, and focuses on the process of translation that occurs as artists, artworks, and iconographic traditions shift across the

⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 1994), 2.

⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁸ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 4.

⁹ Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

borders between East and West.¹⁰ Mary Roberts' *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth Century Visual Culture* (2015) expands the dialogue to examining the artistic interaction between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ The most recent addition to the scholarship is James Parry's *Orientalist Lives, Western Artists in the Middle East 1830-1920*, which sheds light on the Western artists who traveled to this part of the world, their motivations, and experiences.¹²

While this new emphasis on cross-cultural interactions certainly has provided new and fresh outlooks, the field is still young and in need of developing frameworks, with new sets of definitions. In my opinion, as this process develops, it will be imperative to negotiate between the desire to articulate generalized universal theories and propose alternatives, through which historical or other realities intercede to undermine this goal. Nancy Micklewright has cautioned that modern-day preconceptions and prejudices can shape our vision and analysis of Oriental visual representation.¹³ Interpreting Orientalist works only through the lens of Edward Said's brand of Orientalism has resulted in a narrow view, one that is often predetermined. That, however, is not to say that this revisionist mode of interpretation, should disregard or preclude Said's model, as many Western cultural representations encode imperialist distinctions between the West and the East.

¹⁰ Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts, eds., *Edges of Empire Orientalism and Visual Culture* (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2008).

¹¹ Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth Century Visual Culture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2015).

¹² James Parry, *Orientalist Lives, Western Artists in the Middle East 1830-1920* (Cairo, New York: The American University Press, 2018).

¹³ Nancy Micklewright, *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003), 14.

My aim will be to interweave a variety of pertinent theoretical frameworks with cultural and social history. I follow Donald Malcolm Reid's example, in his study of the evolution of Egyptian Egyptology, in which he drew on primary sources to uncover important previously neglected 19th-century Egyptian archeologists.¹⁴ I also consider the work of Edhem Eldem, whose study of the Turkish artist Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)¹⁵ relies on contemporaneous exhibition records, critical reception, and the artist's autobiography.¹⁶ As a paradigm living example of cross-cultural formation myself, and being fluent in three languages, I will research archival and published resources in French, English, and Arabic including unpublished documents from the Egyptian National Archives (Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya), as well as books, 19th century newspapers and periodicals from the Egyptian National Library (Dar al-Kutub). These archival materials have not been extensively reviewed before, and it is my hope that this dissertation, by grounding many of its claims in nineteenth-century facts / history, will contribute to the East West dialogue.

Historical Overview

¹⁴ Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁵ Bey is a Turkish title, which traditionally was given to rulers of small tribal groups, members of the royal family, and important people. Osman Hamdi was a prominent Ottoman cultural figure in the late nineteenth century. He was an archeologist, artist, and founded the Archeological Museum of Istanbul, becoming its director in 1881. His art has been extensively studied, see Zeynep Çelik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, eds. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); M.K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011). Edhem Eldem wrote extensively about Hamdi Bey, including his article "Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and his Paintings," *Muqarnas*, Vol. 29 (2012), pp. 339-383, which cites other studies by the author.

¹⁶ Edhem Eldem, "What's in a Name? Osman Hamdi Bey's *Genesis*," in *Archeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands*, ed. Renata Holod and Robert Ousterhout, ([Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2010): <http://www.ottomanlands.com/> (Accessed 19 January 2019)

Although Viceroy Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha began the course of modernization and independence from his Ottoman suzerain,¹⁷ it was Khedive Ismail’s reign¹⁸ that marked a decisive turning point in Egypt’s history of reforms, the visual transformation of Cairo, and the genesis of contemplating a national identity. Isma‘il gained more autonomy from the Ottomans by changing the succession in Egypt from primogeniture to hereditary in 1866,¹⁹ and securing the title of Khedive along with increasing powers in 1867.²⁰ He also

¹⁷ Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha’s origin is not certain. He is Albanian but there are theories he is Turkish. According to a member of the royal family, Hassan Hassan, he said in 1829 to French travelers that he was from Macedonia. Hassan Hassan, *In the House of Muhammad Ali: A Family Album, 1805-1952* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000). He centralized his country along European models, modernizing his army and establishing supporting factories (for example, for guns, ammunition, and military uniforms, among others), executing important public works projects, and developing infrastructure to expand Egypt’s ports and transportation networks. He also constructed hospitals, schools, and numerous modernizing social and bureaucratic institutions, and introduced a variety of exportable cash crops to fund his projects. He endeavored to gain independence from the Ottomans, and embarked on a series of expeditions in Arabia, Syria, and Sudan, but European powers intervened and compelled him to sign the London Treaty with his sovereign in 1840. This resulted in reducing his army, ceding territories (except Sudan), and other restrictions. In return, he was guaranteed his family’s hereditary right to rule Egypt. Literature on Muhammad ‘Ali abounds including Abdel-Rahman al-Rafi‘i, *‘Asr Muhammad ‘Ali*, 3rd ed. (Cairo: Matba‘at al-Fikra, 1951); Georges Douin, *Mohamed Aly Pasha du Caire: Correspondance des consuls de France en Egypte* (Le Caire: Impr. de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire pour la Société Royale de Géographie d’Egypte, 1926); Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of New Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Charles Augustus Murray, *A Short Memoir of Muhammad Ali: Founder of the Vice-Royalty of Egypt* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898); among others.

¹⁸ There are numerous books on Isma‘il and his reign, including Abdel-Rahmaan al-Rafi‘i, *‘Asr Ismail* (Isma‘il’s Erq), 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda, 1948; Jerrold, Blanchard. *Egypt Under Ismail Pacha. Being Some Chapters of Contemporary History* (London: S. Tinsley & Co, 1879); Pierre Crabitès, *Ismail: The Maligned Khedive* (London: Routledge, 1933); Edwin de Leon, *The Khedive’s Egypt; Or, The Old House of Bondage Under New Masters* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877); Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*. 3 vols. (Roma: Nell Istituto poligrafico dello stato per la reale società di geografia d’Egitto, 1933-38); Angelo Sammarco, *Histoire de l’Égypte moderne depuis Mohammed Ali jusqu’à l’occupation britannique, 1801-1882 d’après les documents originaux égyptiens et étranger*, 3 vols. (Caire: Impr. de L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1937), among others.

¹⁹ The *firman* (decree) of 27 May 1866, changed the succession in Egypt from primogeniture to hereditary (the eldest son succeeding his father). Isma‘il raised the tribute to the Ottomans from 80,000 purses to 150,000, the equivalent to £ 675,000. Sammarco, *Histoire de l’Égypte moderne depuis Mohammed Ali*, vol. 3, 131-32.

²⁰ The *firman* of 8 June 1867, gave Ismail the title of Khedive—a Persian word meaning ruler or Lord—and granted him authority to conclude commercial and financial treaties with foreign powers (including customs, trade transit, and posts), and to initiate laws and regulations for the internal affairs of the country. In consideration of these privileges, the Egyptian Tribute to the Ottoman government was increased from £414,000 to £690,000 per year. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 1, 442-4

embarked on a series of expeditions in Africa—asserting that they were meant to suppress slavery and end the slave trade.²¹ On the home front, he expanded infrastructural improvements in irrigation, canals, railroad and telegraph networks, roads, bridges, as well as bringing the postal system under government control. His massive public works included the establishment of lighthouses and the introduction of water and gas to Cairo—Egypt’s capital, which underwent massive growth under Isma‘il, including the development of a new quarter Isma‘ilia (now downtown Cairo), as well as the redevelopment of Azbakiyya, with new buildings, palaces, and public gardens.²² Numerous schools were introduced, and in 1873, Isma‘il instituted the first school for girls in the Ottoman Empire (under the patronage of one of his wives).²³ A parliamentary government was introduced in 1866 with the creation of an Assembly of Delegates. Egyptianizing initiatives were also made: making Arabic the official language of the country (1869), the establishment of the Khedivial Library (1870) containing a huge variety of Arabic manuscripts, and the sponsorship of works in Arabic including poems, songs, and newspapers (*Wadi-al Nil* in Cairo, *al-Jawa'ib* in Istanbul, and *Hadiqat al-Akhbar* in Beirut).

But the huge debts accrued under Isma‘il resulted in Egypt’s bankruptcy, and the formation of a foreign Commission for the Public Debt (Caisse de la Dette

²¹ Muhammad ‘Ali began expanding into Sudan in 1820. On Egypt’s expansionist policy under both Muhammad ‘Ali and Isma‘il, see Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, “The Egyptian Empire, 1805-1885,” in *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, ed. Daly, M. W., vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 198-216; and M. Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt* (London: Longmans, Green and C^o, 1947), 139-51.

²² For Isma‘il’s urban transformation including the new quarter extending from Azbakiyya to what was called Isma‘ilia (today Wust El Balad or downtown), see Janet Abu Lughud, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, J: Princeton University Press), 103-05.

²³ For Isma‘il’s educational reforms, see Sammarco, *Histoire de l’Égypte moderne*, 297-304.

Publique) in 1876.²⁴ Khedive Isma‘il was deposed in 1879 and replaced by his son Tawfiq (r. 1879-92). The ‘Urabi revolt (1881-82)²⁵ gave the British the pretext of making Egypt a “veiled protectorate” in 1882, and a protectorate, ending Ottoman sovereignty in 1914. But, the 1919 revolt put a nominal end to the Protectorate in 1922.²⁶ Throughout, the Muhammad ‘Ali dynasty survived until 1952, when the Free Officers ousted King Farouk (r.1936-52) and declared Egypt a republic.

Much has been written about Khedive Isma‘il and his reign, but depending on the narrator he has been either lauded as “The Magnificent” or “The Maligned.”²⁷ As Hassan Hassan, a member of the royal family wrote, Khedive Isma‘il is “for some people a controversial figure. To Lord Cromer, he was Egypt’s ruin; to Lord Milner, he was ‘luxurious [...] and devoid of principles’ [...] To Judge Pierre Grabités, he is ‘Ismail the Maligned Khedive;’ Edwin de Leon, the American Consul General, writes of him ‘The Khedive is an immense worker [...] The British journalist McCoan writes [...] ‘He is both sovereign and minister in one—seeing everything, and doing

²⁴ The Commission was formed to service the Egyptian public debt and its members nominated by France, Britain, Austria, and Italy.

²⁵ Ahmad ‘Urabi (1841-1911) who led the revolt, was among the sons of village officials who were recruited in the Egyptian army—up to a certain rank—during Said Pasha’s reign. The revolution between September 1881 and September 1882 was against Turkish Circassian monopoly of commanding positions in the army, Anglo-French financial and political influence, and authority of Khedive Tawfiq. After his defeat, ‘Urabi was exiled in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and returned to Egypt in 1901. He emerged as a national hero under the slogan *Miṣr li’l Miṣriyyin* (“Egypt for the Egyptians”). However, Alexander Schölch has argued that that the movement’s slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians” did not mean a total replacement of the established Turko-Circassian elite, rather that native Egyptians participate and share power. Alexander Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians! The Socio-Political Crisis in Egypt, 1878-1882* (London: Published for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony’s College, Oxford [by] Ithaca Press, 1981), 209, 284, 311-312. Cited in Israel Gershoni, and James P. Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 11.

²⁶ The British continued to exert military control and official influence in Egypt until 1952, first through its high commissioner, and after 1936, its ambassador.

²⁷ See Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, “The Porte and Ismail Pasha’s Quest for Autonomy,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 12 (1975), 89-96.

everything himself.”²⁸ The historian M. Rifaat Bey noted “Isma[‘]il before 1875 was held in high esteem by the European public and the Powers [...] after 1875 earned himself the ill will of the investors and the dissatisfaction of their governments.”²⁹ No doubt, the massive public works, increased taxes to Turkey, funding the expeditions in Africa, and the enormous indemnity for the revision for the Suez Canal agreement were a factor in Egypt’s bankruptcy, but his lavish spending on the inaugural ceremony of the Canal, vast building projects, and extravagant lifestyle cannot be overlooked in the financial crisis that ensued.

Egyptian Perceptions of the Khedivial Dynasty

In 1869, Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi (1801–73),³⁰ one of the most important nineteenth-century Egyptian intellectuals of the period described Muhammad ‘Ali:

“the fulfiller in time of the works begun or attempted by progressive native or foreign rulers since the Saïte XXVI Dynasty, whose Pharaohs encouraged Greek immigration, and whose spiritual successors, the Ptolemies, restored the Pharaonic grandeur of Egypt after the Persian interlude and continued the work of fusing the native Egyptian with the foreign Greek culture [....] Like the Saïtes and Ptolemies,

²⁸ Hassan, *In the House of Muhammad Ali*, 72.

²⁹ Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 153.

³⁰ Writer, teacher, translator, Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi was a product of Muhammad ‘Ali’s Western based reforms, and he accompanied a study mission to Paris as their *imam* (chaplain) in 1826. He became editor of the *al-Waqa‘i al-Masriyya* and the director of Muhammad Ali’s translation bureau, where he led numerous translation projects. He is credited as being the first to celebrate the glory of Egypt’s Pharaonic civilization as well as its Islamic heritage, propagated a secularized *umma* (moral community), and ardently advocated education reform. He also published numerous books including *Manahij al Albab al-Misriyya fi Mabahig al-Adab al-‘Asriyya* (The Paths of Egyptian Hearts in the Joys of Contemporary Culture). For more on al-Tahtawi and his influence, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 67-83; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 87-89; and Charles Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image from Its Origin to Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid* (Berkeley, Calif: 1972), 122-130.

Muhammad ‘Ali restored Egypt’s glory and encouraged the foreigner to settle in Egypt.”³¹

Al-Tahtawi’s praise of Muhammad ‘Ali and reference to the concept of a fusion with foreign cultures became an essential component of Egyptian national historiography in the early twentieth century. Egyptian nationalists viewed that some of the foreign invaders after the time of the Pharaohs, such as the “Hyksos, the Arabs, and the Mamluks and Ottoman Turks,” that “rather than being “external forces” influencing or altering the Egyptian personality, they were brought under its sway and assimilated into it.”³² As the writer Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888–1956)³³ put it, these invaders assimilated and “acclimatized themselves to our country intermixing with us and becoming part of us, in fact becoming Egyptian themselves. Their first nationality completely vanished.”³⁴

Later in the century, other historians, like ‘Abdel-Rahman al-Rafi’i reiterated this idea, writing that Muhammad ‘Ali became “Egyptianized and Arabized, and compared him to Napoleon, who was a Corsican by birth, but identified himself with France.”³⁵ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, taking a somewhat different approach, argued that while

³¹ Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi, *Manahij al-Albab al-Misriyya fi Mabahij al-Adab al-‘Asriyya (The Paths of Egyptian Hearts through the Joys of Contemporary Culture)*, 1869, 2nd edition (Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Misri, 2012), 188-204. Cited in Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image*, 129-130.

³² Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 148. Other conquerors, such as the Persians, later the Romans and Byzantines, the French, and the British held onto their foreign identity and rejected assimilation. See *ibid*, 143-63.

³³ Haykal, the son of an affluent family, who went to Paris to complete his post graduate studies in law wrote his novel *Zaynab* while studying there. He acknowledged his authorship with the second edition in 1929 after the novel’s success, and when he abandoned his career as a provincial lawyer. For an overview Haykal’s *Zaynab*, see Samah Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt*, (London: Routledge, 2010), 102-117.

³⁴ Invaders under discussion include the Hyksos, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Mamluks and Ottoman Turks. ‘Abd-l-‘Aziz al-Bishari, *al Tarbiyya al-Wataniyya (Nationalist Education)*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1928), Introduction. Cited in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs*, 148, 301 no. 39.

³⁵ Al-Rafi’i, *‘Asr Muhammad ‘Ali*, 401-402. Cited in Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image*, 118, no. 89.

Muhammad ‘Ali’s rule was foreign, he “put Egypt on the path of independent statehood and self-recognition as having a separate identity distinct from other Muslims and Ottomans [....]”³⁶ and that his son Ibrahim Pasha (r. September 1-November 10, 1848) “identified with Arabs, spoke Arabic, and admired the Arabs where he despised Ottomans and Turks.”³⁷ This idea of assimilation was prominently highlighted on the occasion of the centenary of Ibrahim Pasha’s death in 1848. The daily newspaper *Al-Ahram* eulogized him as the “Egyptian politician, supporter of education and urbanization,” and cited what he said about his identity: “I came as a child to Egypt, and since then the Egyptian sun has changed my blood and made it wholly Arab.”³⁸

Recent scholarship, however, has challenged al-Rafi’i’s and Marsot’s narrative, placing the dynasty in an Ottoman context.³⁹ The historian Khaled Fahmy, for example, argues that Muhammad ‘Ali—whom he refers to by his Ottoman name Mehmed—was an Ottoman whose main goal was to further his ambitions of carving an empire for himself

³⁶ Al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*, 264. Cited in Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 23.

³⁷ Ibid., 23.

³⁸ *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 10 November, 1948, 11. The article explained that the term “Arab” in the first part of the nineteenth century referred to Arabic speaking natives within the Ottoman Empire, but that Ibrahim used it to refer to the Egyptians. Ibid., 12. Another definition of the term in Arabic sources in the Middle Ages and Ottoman was used to denote Bedouins, but that one must take into consideration that many nomads were settled agriculturalists. What characterized the Arabs were tribal organization and a claim to Arabian origin. Michael Winter, “Ottoman Egypt, 1525-1609,” in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 2, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20. In 1836, Edward William Lane explained that Muslims in Egypt were largely of Arabian origin (after the Arabian conquest), hence the term Muslim Egyptians or (Arab-Egyptians). He noted the term “Arab” “is now used, wherever the Arabic language is spoken,” and that Bedouin tribes (or groups of them) are referred to as “Orban” and an individual is called “Badawee.” Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians: Written in Egypt during the years 1833, -34, and -35, partly from notes made during a former visit to that country in the years 1825, -26, -27, and -28*, 5th ed., ed. Edward Stanley Poole (London: John Murray, 1871), 31-32.

³⁹ See for example, Ehud R. Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*.

and not to create an independent Egypt,⁴⁰ and that Ibrahim Pasha's successive victories over the Ottoman Sultan's armies in the 1830s must be seen as a long overdue revenge.⁴¹

The idea of assimilation advocated by some Egyptian nationalists and historians, thus, nuances traditional elements that usually define national identity, such as lineage, language, religion, or "ethnic" background.⁴² Yet, the concept of collective identity is debatable and shifting, particularly in the Egyptian case, subject as it is to changing socio-cultural-political currents. Beginning with Isma'il's reign into the end of the nineteenth century, there were many infrastructural and institutional changes. The growing public education system, the development of modern centralizing state institutions, the expanding railroad and postal services, and the proliferation of books and newspapers greatly impacted the political, economic, and social landscape.⁴³

Perhaps one of the most important changes during the period under discussion was in the socio-cultural sphere.⁴⁴ Major demographic shifts resulted from migration of the *fallahin* or peasants,⁴⁵ as well as Europeans (mainly Greek, Italian, and French)⁴⁶ into the

⁴⁰ Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 25.

⁴¹ Ibid., 23.

⁴² Theories on nationalism abound. These include Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Verso Press, 1991); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1986), 32.

⁴³ For institutional and infrastructural changes, see Ziad Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation Through Popular Culture* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011), 20-37.

⁴⁴ See Ehud R. Toledano, "Social and economic change in the 'long nineteenth century,'" in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 2, 252-284.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 254; Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 27-29.

⁴⁶ European population in Egypt increased from 6,000 in 1840 to around 68,000 in 1870, to 90,000 in 1882, and 111,000 in 1897. Toledano, "Social and economic change in the long nineteenth century," 274. With regards to the mix, according to the *Statistique de l'Egypte* published by the Egyptian government in 1873, Alexandria had the following foreign population: Greek, 21,000, Italians, 7,539; French, 10,000; English, 4,500; Austro-Hungarian, 3,000; in Cairo: Greek, 7,000, Italians, 3,367; French, 5,000; English, 1,000;

country's major urban centers, Cairo and Alexandria. The small segment of the population consisting of Ottomans⁴⁷ and native elites underwent major transformations. The former contingent—who for the most part held the top positions in the administration and army—became increasingly assimilated through intermarriage with the local elite, and their descendants spoke Arabic. Indigenous notables—especially wealthy landowners, became upwardly mobile either through intermarriage with the Ottoman elite, or through increasing their landholdings, and receiving appointments in the rural and central administration.⁴⁸ Members of a native urban middle class group that benefitted from the expanding public education under Isma‘il were also increasingly recruited to fill junior administrative jobs in the army and government, especially after the Arabic language became the official language of the country.⁴⁹ The *fallahin* majority, on the other hand, were mostly illiterate, and would only become integrated during the nationalism of the early twentieth century, a topic I will return to in some detail in chapter four.

The process of the elite transformation was not without some repercussions. Just as the major urban transformation begun by Isma‘il resulted in the creation of a dual city (to

Austro-Hungarian, 1,800. Cited in de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, 427. See also Toledano, "Social and economic change in the 'long nineteenth century,'" 252-284.

⁴⁷ The Ottoman contingent were from different parts of the Empire, and had different ethnic backgrounds, including Albanians, Greeks, Kurds, Circassians, Georgians, and others.

⁴⁸ For the transformation of the Egyptian elite see Beth Baron, "The Making of the Egyptian Nation," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 137-158; and Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt*.

⁴⁹ After Isma‘il's decree announcing that Arabic would be the official language of Egypt, Turkish was retained in a few ministries, communication between the Foreign Ministry and the Khedive could be French, Arabic, or Turkish, and after the high command in the army protested, Turkish was officially reinstated in communications between the army and central government. ⁴⁹ Ibrahim Abu Lughod, "The Transformation of the Egyptian Elite: Prelude to the 'Urabi Revolt," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 2, no. 3 (summer, 1967), 339.

the West, a European city, and to the East a native city),⁵⁰ a social divide in Egyptian society was created. One of the main catalysts for this dichotomy resulted from Muhammad ‘Ali’s introduction of secular schools, that as Magda Baraka suggested, led “to the larger rift in society between *baladi* [indigenous] and *faranji* [foreign].⁵¹ In another vein, Ottoman and European influence permeated the life style and dress of urban elites. Westernized upper class and bourgeois gentlemen forged a dual European-Ottoman self-image, dressing in European dress and the Ottoman red felt hat, or *tarbush* (Turkish *fez*, headdress). Likewise, women of the upper class were influenced by European dress, and when going out, wore the *yashmak* and the *ferace* (Turkish style veil and cloak).⁵² Other notables—male upper-and middle-class men wore native costume, consisting of cotton drawers and a cotton silk shirt with wide sleeves, a waistcoat without sleeves, and on top a long vest of silk called a *kaftan*. The headdress was a *tarbush* with a turban wrapped around it. This segment of the population preferred to define themselves as Egyptian-Ottoman. Upper and middle-class women wore a wide pair of trousers, with bright colored stockings, along with a fitted vest with long sleeves and skirts. These were open from the side and the front to turn up and fasten into the girdle that is usually a cashmere shawl; a cloth jacket richly embroidered with gold and short sleeves was worn over the vest; a small *tarbush* was worn on the back of the head with a handkerchief tied around it, and ornaments were sometimes attached to the headdress. Outdoors, the women wore a long loose gown, and above that a piece of silk (black for a married

⁵⁰ Janet L. Abu-Lughud, *Cairo, 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971), 98.

⁵¹ Magda Baraka, *The Egyptian Upper Class between Revolutions, 1919-1952* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1998), 129.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 143-44.

woman) that was brought over the head and gathered by the arms and hands to envelop the person.⁵³

Although native Egyptians had made significant progress by working in the bureaucracy and army, still the Ottomans dominated the army's higher ranks. The growing nucleus of Egyptian intellectuals was reconsidering questions of collective identity during this period of socio-cultural transformation. Until the turn of the century, the dominant form of collective identity was religious or Pan-Islamic, with an inclination to support the Ottoman Empire—especially given the fact that the Sultan was the *de facto* Caliph of the Muslim community.⁵⁴ On the other hand, al-Tahtawi—who was a product of Muhammad 'Ali's Western based reforms and study missions to France—sparked a new secular concept of love of the nation or *hubb al watan* (love of homeland) in the same sense as the French *l'amour de la patrie*,⁵⁵ combined with the traditional Muslim views of the community. In the early twentieth century, a newer secular territorial nationalism occurred that bypassed Islamic-Ottoman links, and emphasized Egypt's distinct geographic roots in the Nile Valley, its historical ties to the Pharaohs, and to the

⁵³ See Hugh Chisholm, ed., *The Encyclopedia Britannica: a dictionary of arts, sciences, literature and general information*, vol. 9 (New York : Encyclopedia Britannica, [1910-22]), 31: https://books.google.com/books?id=t_0tAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA31&lpg=PA31&dq=dress+of+male+upper+and+middle+class+in+nineteenth+century+egypt&source=bl&ots=kg7kzuTmk&sig=eyRB8RKXmcABq_4aQ4llkHMBaD8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewicm4SVkvTPAhVDA4KHaHECcx04ChDoAQgiMAE#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed 1 October 2016). See also Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 51-53.

⁵⁴ Gershoni and Jankowski discuss three main forms of collective identities in the Arab world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: religious nationalism (i.e. Pan-Islam), territorial nationalism (Western inspired sense of community with defined land, and a love of country), or Arab nationalism (based on ethnic or linguistic ties). It is important to note, however, that these categories are not mutually exclusive and can be overlapping. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs*, 3.

⁵⁵ In his writings, al-Tahtawi advocated that both concepts of love of the nation and traditional Muslim views of the community can exist side by side. *Ibid.*, 5, 11-15.

countryside where the peasants, with their unchanged ways embodied the Egyptian national character.

Outline of Chapters

The dissertation is structured around four case studies, focusing on Egyptian-French encounters and their key role in the formation of Egypt's cultural self-definition beginning with Isma‘il's reign to the evolution of an Egyptian indigenous national image.

Chapter 1 “Egypt at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867” focuses on the moment Egypt first forged an international image of a powerful and independent nation with a unique cultural identity. Through examining official correspondence, displays, publications, and media coverage of the Egyptian exhibition in Paris, I shall seek to reveal how Isma‘il used this international arena for his country’s own economic and political interest. The French were mostly involved in the design and execution of the display. This first visual representation of a newly defined cultural identity marked a watershed moment for an emerging Egyptian intelligentsia to debate national identity.

Chapter 2 “The Opening of the Suez Canal” examines the organization of the Suez Canal inauguration in 1869. This world event provided Khedive Isma‘il an even greater opportunity to show Egypt’s independence, competence, and potential, and he did in a spectacular propaganda show. Isma‘il staged a visual grand tableau uniting world cultures and religions, and ensuring the participation of the indigenous population. Just as in Paris two years earlier, Egypt’s unique identity was emphasized. Khedive Isma‘il knew the power of propaganda, thus he enlisted some of the most famous French journalists, writers, and artists. This was also a triumph for Second Empire France (1852-70), which

celebrated this gigantic engineering feat, and a political message that articulated the undermining of the British maritime and railroad dominance in Egypt.

Chapter 3 “Commemorating the Khedivial Dynasty” turns to the creation of the Khedivial equestrian statues, which Isma‘il had commissioned to immortalize his dynasty. The chapter focuses on the circle of French artists and the Committee involved in the execution of the Khedivial equestrian statues. By drawing upon primary archival material consisting mostly of letters, I shall explore the relations between these artists and intermediaries with Egypt’s ruler and bureaucrats as they chose a typical Western power symbol to immortalize the khedivial dynasty. By erecting the first figural outdoor public sculptures in the Islamic World, Isma‘il intended to make a strong political statement to legitimize his dynasty’s power and independence.

Chapter 4 “From Costume Book to Symbol of Nation: Egypt’s *Fallaha*” moves the discussion of Egyptian-French encounters that ultimately led to the rise of an Egyptian national image rooted in the country’s ancient past and its native female peasant or the *fallaha*. The chapter begins with an examination of *fallaha* representations in nineteenth-century French costume books and art, an area that has been understudied. It then traces the emergence of the *fallaha* becoming a symbol of the Egyptian nation, as part of a new nationalism that was being shaped in the early twentieth century. Egyptian-French encounters played an important role, whereby Western artistic practices were used to produce an indigenous modern art. Interestingly, we see how artistic practices traveled full circle: from the ancient Egyptians with their colossal two-dimensional surfaces and rigidly immobile representations, to the Greeks who developed a three-dimensional and much more “naturalistic” art form. From Greece, art crossed throughout Europe only to come back to Egypt in a perfected and novel form.

This dissertation builds on the scholarship about the still understudied artistic interaction between Europe and the East in the nineteenth century. While the literature on the subject has mostly focused on European and Ottoman exchange, my study turns to Egypt, which by the middle of the century was a magnet for European artists. The four case studies reveal several common themes. First, we can see how art was used to project a political message or as propaganda, and eventually to symbolize Egypt's modern identity. Khedive Isma'il had an uncanny ability to harness art, especially French art, to realize his objectives in creating an independent and powerful dynastic image. Art was also an important tool for Egyptian nationalists in the early twentieth century, culminating in the development of an indigenous art movement that would define Egypt's modern national identity. Second, Egyptian-French encounters is, as Mary Louise Pratt stated a "contact zone"—or a location of cultural interactions, which in my view, each used for their own benefit.⁵⁶ Under Khedive Isma'il, Egypt sought protection from a former European colonizer to gain autonomy from its Eastern sovereign, and build its own Empire; France wanted a foothold in the region to counterbalance the British rapprochement with the Ottomans and secure its political and economic interests. However, that alliance, as we will see, did not submerge national interest. On the other hand, other reasons motivated individuals. For instance, French writers, architects, and artists benefited from commissions by the Egyptian ruler and elite, and as unpublished material in the following chapters will unfold, the Egyptian market was highly competitive, requiring a strong network system across borders. What also comes out in

⁵⁶ Mary Louise Pratt coined the term "contact zone" where diverse cultures interact and clash in often "asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination." See her book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7. Usama Makdissi referencing to Pratt's "contact zone" argues that this location of cultural interaction was exploited by "the natives for their own benefit," in his book, *The Culture of Sectarianism Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000), 8.

the following chapters is the agency of the local ruler and elite, in shaping and defining their self-image. Another central theme is that while Egyptian-French encounters spawned an indigenous nationalism and an art movement in the twentieth century, it was not a matter of emulation or mimicry, rather a fusion between Egypt's culture and European thought and artistic practices. Egyptians who went to Paris to learn different branches of knowledge and industry returned home to disseminate what they saw and learned to their compatriots. Eventually, these intellectuals began Egypt's project of national renaissance or *Nahda*, emphasizing that the essence of the country's national identity is in its ancient past and contemporary *fallahin* or peasants who have remained unchanged throughout the ages. Finally, some who crossed borders from France to Egypt and vice versa, came to reflect a dual cultural orientation, and hence became a "hyphen" or a link between both worlds.

Chapter 1

Egypt at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867

She [Egypt] today offers to the dazzled eyes of the world in miniature and as condensed into a small space, all Egypt, brilliant, beautiful, revealing the grandeur of its past, the rich promise of its present-day, while leaving public opinion to draw its conclusions for the future.

Charles Edmond, 1867.¹

Introduction

In the mid-1860s, Egypt was at the peak of its modernizing reforms. When, in 1865, Isma‘il Pasha was offered the opportunity to assert his country’s global stature at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, he took advantage of it. That year he also received the khedival title with more autonomy. On about 6,000 square meters at the Champ de Mars, Egypt presented an elaborate display that, in the words of the novelist, journalist and art critic, Edmond About (1828-85) “spoke to the eyes as well as to the mind,” and “expressed a political idea.”² Four architectural structures comprising a temple, a *salamlik* (men’s reception pavilion), an *okel* or *wikala* (caravansaray) and a modest construction with a stable encapsulated Egypt’s ancient, medieval, and modern history (figs. 2-5).³ The nearby Isthmus of Suez pavilion—representing

¹ « Elle [Égypte] offre aujourd'hui aux yeux éblouis du monde entier, en miniature et comme condensée en un si petit espace, toute l'Égypte, brillante, splendide, révélant les grandeurs de son passé, les riches promesses de son présent, et laissant à l'opinion publique elle-même les soins d'en tirer des conclusions pour l'avenir ». Charles Edmond [Karol Edmund Chojecki], *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte* (Paris: Dentu, 1867), 15.

² « Cet étalage somptueux parlait à l'esprit comme aux yeux; il exprimait une idée politique ». Edmond About, *Le Fellah* (Paris: Librairie de l. Hachette et Cie., 1869), 48.

³ Egypt has a multifaceted history including ancient Egyptian/Pharaonic, Greco/Roman, Arab/Islamic, Mamluk, and Ottoman. The latter themselves, who ruled Egypt since 1517 to 1798 and 1801 to 1914 comprised multiple ethnicities (Albanians, Circassians, Georgians, Bosnians, and others).

the colossal engineering project under construction—completed the picture of a modern Egypt with close ties to France, a major European power (fig. 6).⁴ It was the French who took the lead in designing and executing the Egyptian section. Two books were published for the exhibition. One by the writer, Charles Edmond (pseudonym for Karol Edmund Chojecki, 1822-95)⁵ provided information about Egypt's history, geography, religion, economy, government, and described the display of a “splendid and brilliant Egypt.”⁶ Organized chronologically by historical periods (ancient, medieval, and modern), the book included engravings of the pavilions, and a frontispiece depicting Isma‘il in military regalia with a *tarbush*, flanked by sphinxes, mosque minarets, and a ship's mast (fig. 7). The second book by the Egyptologist and Director of the Bulaq Museum (now the Egyptian Museum), Auguste Mariette Bey (1821-81)⁷

⁴ The Suez Canal pavilion was independently organized by the French diplomat and developer of the Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-94). The pavilion was designed in Neoparaonic style by the French architect Alfred Chapon (1834-93), who previously designed structures for the Suez Canal Company and who was also the architect of the Moroccan and Tunisian pavilion at the 1867 exposition. Mehrangiz Nickou, “National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867,” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997), 233.

⁵ Originally Polish, Edmond, in 1845, fled from Russian persecution to Paris, where he lived most of his life and became a citizen in 1875. In 1850 he joined the army in Egypt for a year, and he later fought with the Ottomans against Russia in the Crimean War. During the War, he met Prince Napoleon, who appointed him as the librarian of the ministry he led (Ministry of Algeria). For Edmond's biography, see Emmanuel Desurvire, *Charles Edmond Chojecki: patriote polonais, explorateur, soldat, poète, dramaturge, romancier, journaliste, bibliothécaire [...]*, 4 vols. (Saint-Escorbille : Desurvire, 2011).

⁶ « [l']Égypte, brillante, splendide [...] » Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 15.

⁷ In 1850, the Frenchman, Mariette discovered the Serapeum (the tomb of the Apis sacred bulls) at Saqqara, and in 1858, Egypt's Viceroy, Sa'id Pasha (r.1854-63) appointed him director of antiquities. In 1863 he opened the Bulaq Museum to house Egyptian antiquities. He was later awarded the title of Pasha (highest official title in the Ottoman Empire); lived in Egypt until his death in 1881, and is buried there. For Mariette's biography, see Henri Wallon, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de François-Auguste-Ferdinand Mariette-Pacha, membre ordinaire* (Paris : Firmin-Didot, 1883); Gaston Maspero, *Notice biographique sur Auguste Mariette (1821-1881)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904); and Elisabeth David, *Mariette Pacha, 1821-1881* (Paris : Pygmalion / G. Watelet, 1994).

described the pavilions; the temple received fifty-one pages of discussion out of one hundred and one.⁸

This chapter examines Egypt's representation at the Exposition Universelle of 1867, focusing on its official publications and media coverage.⁹ Previous scholarship on displays of the Orient (Middle East, North Africa, and Turkey) at world fairs has tended to explore them as exotic spaces highlighting cultural otherness and Western imperial authority, while more recent cross-cultural studies have concentrated on architectural representations.¹⁰ By focusing on the 1867 exposition's narrative covering the preparation, display, reviews, and cast involved, I seek to provide a deeper insight into the varied political, economic, and diplomatic implications of the Egyptian-French encounter in Paris. France and Egypt's relationship flourished under Napoleon III (r. 1852-70). With a striking display, Egypt hoped to attract economic investments,¹¹ and forge an international image as a modern, civilized, and independent nation that, as Edmond remarked could "become the center of the Islamic world,"¹² with "a foot in both worlds [...]" the

⁸ Auguste Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne : Expositions universelle de 1867* (Paris, Dentu, 1867). For the exposition, Mariette also wrote a new edition of a French and Arabic publication, *Aperçu de l'histoire ancienne d'Égypte : pour l'intelligence des monuments exposés dans le temple du parc égyptien* (Paris : Dentu, 1867).

⁹ In Egypt, at the time the exposition, there were only two journals: *al-Waqa'i al-Masriyya* (Egyptian Events), the government's journal comprising mainly official reports and news with little cultural content; and *Wadi al-Nil* (*The Nile Valley*), a short-lived semi-weekly newspaper in Arabic from 1867 until 1874, sponsored by the Khedive. At the time of my research in Egypt, however, the latter journal was not available.

¹⁰ See Sylvaine Leprun, *Le Théâtre des colonies: Scénographie, acteurs et discours de l'imaginaire dans les expositions, 1855-1937* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986); Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*; Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*; and Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). See also, Nickou, "National Architecture and International Politics."

¹¹ Egypt lost its dominance of the cotton market at the end of the American Civil War, in addition to increased debts that Edmond attributed to Ismail's predecessor Sa'id Pasha (r. 1854-63) who made concessions to the Suez Canal Company, which Ismail renegotiated with Napoleon III. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 3-6.

¹² « [I]l'Égypte tend à devenir de nouveau le centre de l'islamisme ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 205.

Occident because of its future interests [...] also the Orient because of its ties with all its past.”¹³

By defining a unique cultural identity—that avoided any reference to the Ottomans, the Egyptian display at the Paris exhibition, in fact, sowed the seeds for the burgeoning of national pride in Egypt’s ancient civilization and its native population, resulting in a modern Egyptian national image in the early twentieth century.¹⁴

The Organization and Design of the Egyptian Section in Paris

In 1865, the French Imperial Commission—which Napoleon III appointed to organize the fair—sent out invitations to countries to participate in the exposition two years later at the Champ de Mars.¹⁵ Egypt accepted the invitation, and its spectacular display, prompted one of the authors of the illustrated publication funded by the French imperial commission, to state that Isma‘il had “answered the [France’s] call with a generosity that is totally Oriental,” leaving “nothing to be desired.”¹⁶

¹³ « Mais si l'Égypte tient à l'Occident par les intérêts de son avenir, elle tient aussi à l'Orient par ses liens de tout son passé. Elle a le pied à la fois dans deux mondes ». Ibid., 3.

¹⁴ The concept of Egypt’s cultural self-definition at the exposition was suggested by Çelik, and further elaborated by Nickou. Çelik., *Displaying the Orient* 3; Nickou, “National Architecture and International Politics,” 469.

¹⁵ For primary sources on the exhibitions organisation and rationale, see *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris : précis des opérations et listes des collaborateurs avec un appendice sur l'avenir des expositions, la statistique des opérations, les documents officiels et le plan de l'exposition* (Paris : Imprimerie Impériale, 1869) ; and *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris. Rapports des jurys internationaux publiés sous la direction de M. Michel Chevalier*, ed. Michèle Chevalier, 13 vols. (Paris: P. Dupont, 1868). For a concise description of the Exposition, see Volker Barth, “Paris 1867,” in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2008), 37-44; Arthur Chandler, “Paris 1867 Exposition Universelle,” in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990, 33-43.

¹⁶ « [I]smaïl Pacha [...] a répondu à l'appel de France avec une munificence tout orientale. L'exposition Égyptienne ne laisse rien à désirer ». H. Marini, “Les Installations Égyptiennes,” in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, publication internationale autorisée par la Commission impériale*, ed. François Ducuing (Paris : Administration, 1868), vol. 1, 5.

Edmond's book reported that Isma'il "conceived the magnificent plan [...], directed everything, and took the initiative on the artistic and the industrial sections, overseeing all the details."¹⁷ To help him, he appointed a Commission, presided by his Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nubar Pasha (1825-99), a Francophone educated in Europe, who served in the governments of consecutive Viceroys.¹⁸ The extent of Nubar Pasha's involvement in the organization is not clear. During most of 1866, he was in Paris on a political mission—or as he stated, honorably distanced, and was cut off from any news from the Egyptian government.¹⁹ However, there are two letters in the Egyptian archives between Nubar Pasha and government officials that concern the exposition. In one of them addressed to Mahmud (?) Bey (dated 10 December 1866), he discussed Edmond's and his idea of publishing a book to accompany the exhibition:

Nevertheless, except for the permission of Our August Master, we propose to make a book of our exhibition, half book, half catalog. The first section [...] the reign of Our August Master; the second discussion of ancient Egypt; the third Egypt under the Arabs and the last of modern Egypt [...] the cost of the book I calculated is from 20 to 25 thousand francs—papers, printing, publications, [...] [illegible] of which Charles Edmond is part of [...] the first page

¹⁷ « Il en a conçu le magnifique plan d'ensemble. Il a tout dirigé, pris l'initiative de la partie artistique aussi bien qu'industrielle, veille aux moindres détails. » Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 14. Letters in the archives corroborate Edmond's claim. For example, Mariette wrote on 27 June 1866 "Note des questions," a document with questions to obtain Ismail's approval, including a list of objects and manpower to travel to the exposition, such as a *dahabieh* (river boat), camels and donkeys, native artisans, and attendants in the café. Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya (The Egyptian National Archives, hereinafter DWQ), *Murassallat bi khousus ma'arad al Masri li a'am 1867* (Communications about the Egyptian Exhibition of 1867), 5013-004219.

¹⁸ An Armenian by birth, Nubar Pasha was educated in Switzerland and France. He came to Egypt when he was seventeen years old to become secretary of his uncle—who served as Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs under the founder of the khedival dynasty Muhammad 'Ali. See Mirrit Butros Ghali, ed., *Mémoires de Nubar Pacha* (Beyrouth : Librairie du Liban, 1983).

¹⁹ Nubar Pasha was sent on his mission in April of 1866 and where he stayed for nine months, until he was recalled in January 1867. In his memoirs, there is no mention about his participation in the 1867 exposition organization. Ibid., 264- 266.

will bear the portrait of our August Master [...] and the different monuments of Egypt of our exhibition.²⁰

Edmond, the author of the Egyptian official publication, was appointed General Commissioner to serve as a liaison between Paris and Cairo.²¹ He was a well-known figure in Egypt, having served in its army in the 1850s, and in France, being “an intellectual famous writer, historian, archeologist, and Librarian of the Senate.”²² Edmond’s participation in the planning can be gleaned from some of the lively letters he wrote to his wife from Egypt in January 1866, where he was Nubar Pasha’s guest.²³ One of his priorities during that trip was to obtain Isma‘il’s approval to send a collection of antiquities—that Mariette had chosen from the Bulaq Museum—to the Paris exposition, which he said would make “a splendid exhibition that would surpass all the others.”²⁴ Edmond obtained the Khedive’s approval on the 10th of February.²⁵ According to Edmond, he was the one who was charged with all the responsibility including bank transactions.²⁶ At the end of the exposition, the French government recognized

²⁰ « Mais en tous cas sauf la permission de Notre Auguste Maître, nous nous proposons faire un livre de notre exposition, moitié livre, moitié catalogue. La première partie [...] le règne de Notre Auguste Maître; le 2^{ème} traitement de l’Égypte ancienne ; le 3^{ème} l’Égypte sous les arabes et la dernière de l’Égypte moderne [...] les frais du livre que j’ai calculé de 20 à 25 mille francs—papiers, impression, publications, [...] [illegible] Charles Edmond faire une partie [...] la première page portera le portrait de notre Auguste Maître [...] différents monuments d’Égypte de notre exposition ». DWQ, *Murassallat*, 5013-004219.

²¹ The Exposition’s official publication reported that Edmond was delegated by the Imperial Commission. Marini, “Les Installations Égyptiennes,” 53. However, Edmond noted that the Viceroy chose him to coordinate between Cairo and Paris. Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle de 1867*, 14.

²² « Tout le monde connaît M. Edmond, esprit élevé, historien, archéologue, auteur distingué et bibliothécaire du Sénat ». Marini, “Les Installations Égyptiennes,” 53.

²³ Desurvire, *Charles Edmond Chojecki*, vol. 2, 165.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

²⁶ « Je suis seul chargé de tout ; la banque [...] » Desurvire, *Charles Edmond Chojecki*, vol. 2, 169.

his work and nominated him Officer of the Legion of Honor (the highest French order of merit), and the Khedive bestowed on him the title of Bey.²⁷

Mariette was mostly charged with overseeing the archeological section of the exhibition, a task he diligently undertook. He devoted his time in 1866 to the preparation of the exhibit, copying the decorative details and inscriptions from some of the most illustrious temples of Abydos, Gournah, Philae and Saqqara. Mariette held a tight ship with his team. He only trusted his aide, the German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch (1827-94)²⁸ to transcribe the inscriptions in lithographs. The French architect working in Egypt Édouard Schmitz (?-1879),²⁹ provided the architectural plans for most of the Egyptian pavilions. When Schmitz suggested that a line would be more elegant if it were rounded on the top, Mariette snapped: “Mr. Schmitz be calm, the Egyptians made this line flat, if it’s ugly, they are responsible, not us [...] Keep your good taste Mr. Schmitz in your pocket. We are doing ancient Egypt.”³⁰ By the end of 1866, Mariette went to Paris where he stayed for a year to supervise the Egyptian exhibit. He took with him three hundred models, scenes, color samples, and inscriptions from the Egyptian temples. All that he needed now for the interior decoration were painters, in his own words, “from the intelligent

²⁷ Edmond received the title of Bey on 1 August 1867 from Isma‘il. For the manuscript see *ibid.*, 191.

²⁸ Brugsch served as Prussia’s consul in Egypt from 1864-1866. He became the first director of the School of Egyptology (School of the Ancient Language) that Isma‘il founded in 1869. He was the Egyptian commissioner for the 1873 Vienna Exposition and then again to the Philadelphia world’s fair in 1876. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 114-116.

²⁹ Very little information is available about Schmitz. He studied with his father, and exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1859. He worked in Egypt on several residences including the Gabary palace. L. Dussieux, *Les artistes français à l’étranger* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1876), p. 393; *Le Monde illustré* (12 November 1859), 316, 318.

³⁰ « Monsieur Schmitz, soyez calme ; les Égyptiens ont fait cette ligne plate ; si elle est raide, ils sont responsables, et non pas nous [...] Mettez, monsieur Schmitz, votre bon goût dans votre poche. Nous faisons de l’égyptien antique ». Letter from Mariette to Charles Edmond dated 6 July 1866. Cited in Wallon, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de François-Auguste-Ferdinand Mariette-Pacha*, 92-93

world.”³¹ The Khedive, recognized Mariette’s services, and gave his daughters 100,000 francs to divide between them.³² France awarded him Commander of the Legion of Honor for his work at the exposition. The other members of the Commission—mostly Europeans living and working in Egypt, were charged with different sections that included scientific, agricultural, and commercial exhibits.³³

Jacques Drévet (1832-1900) who studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris was hired as the official architect. He was most likely chosen because of the “noteworthy project” he had previously presented for the docks in the city of Alexandria.³⁴ Not having visited Egypt, Drévet relied on Mariette for technical information and on Schmitz for the pavilion plans. France and Egypt recognized Drévet’s work at the exposition; he was made Knight of the Legion of Honor, and Officer of the Order of Medjidie.³⁵ Among the French artists hired to work on site, were the history painter, M. Bin, for the decorative paintings, and M. Mallet from the Bernard and Mallet firm for the sculptural work and moldings. Other contributors included the sculptor M. Godin, and the mason M. Céleri.³⁶

³¹ David, *Mariette Pacha*, 176.

³² Wallon, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de François-Auguste-Ferdinand Mariette-Pacha*, 102.

³³ They were: Colonel Mircher, Chief of the French military mission in Egypt supervised the Commission’s operation in Cairo and oversaw the scientific and geographical sections; Figari Bey, General inspector of pharmaceutical services in Egypt was in charge of the agricultural and natural history sections; Joseph Claude, an Alexandrian merchant was a negotiator oversaw the commercial section; Vidal, civil engineer, mathematics professor at the State College was secretary of the Commission was charged with public construction and editing the general catalog; Gastinel, chemistry and physics professor at the Viceregal School of Medicine and director of the zoological garden was in charge of the chemical, pharmaceutical sections as well as ground products; Aly Bey Assib, Division Chief of the Ministry of Finance was charged with manual arts products. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 1.

³⁴ E. Hellé, *Jacques Drévet architecte, 1832-1900* (Paris : Chaix, 1912), 8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁶ Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 15; Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, VIII.

Egypt focused its display in the Park surrounding the central exhibition building or Palace, conceived by Frédéric Le Play (1806-82)—also the exposition’s General Commissioner, and designed by engineers Jean-Baptiste Krantz (1817-99) and Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923).³⁷ That iron and glass building, shaped in seven concentric circles, each displayed a type of product according to Le Play’s classification system to show the progress of nations.³⁸ The Park behind the Palace, designed by Adolph Alphand (1817-91)—an innovative concept that was adapted by future world fairs—housed entertainment venues and national pavilions—for the large exhibits that the Palace could not accommodate—“in the taste of [each country’s] national architecture.”³⁹ The novel classification system thus reflected an encyclopedia of the arts, industrial products of all nations, and generally “the manifestation of all branches of human activity.”⁴⁰ That is, in the words of Arthur Chandler, “in its attempt to classify and organize every branch of human activity and to invest that activity with moral purpose, the 1867 Exposition Universelle symbolized the encyclopedic ambitions of the Second Empire,” so as “to proclaim Paris not only the host of the exposition but the seat of a new order for the human

³⁷ Egypt had 555 sq. m. in the main exhibition building or Palace, and 5560 sq. m. in the park. La Commission Impériale, *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris : précis des opérations et listes des collaborateurs avec un appendice sur l'avenir des expositions, la statistique des opérations, les documents officiels et le plan de l'exposition* (Paris : Imprimerie Impériale, 1869), 440, table 8.

³⁸ The seven categories of the exhibits in the Palace were: 1- works of art; 2- materials and their application in the liberal arts; 3- furniture and other objects used in habitations; 4- Clothing, and other worn objects; 5- industrial products, raw and manufactured; 6- industrial instruments; 7- food, fresh and preserved. The three remaining classification categories were 8- Agriculture located on Brillancourt Island on the Seine River; 9- Horticulture in the exhibition park; and 10- objects to “improve the physical and moral and conditions of the people” were spread throughout the Palace and Park. La Commission Impériale, *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 17-18; Chandler, “Paris 1867 Exposition Universelle,” 39-41.

³⁹ *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 70.

⁴⁰ Barth, “Paris 1867,” 43.

race.”⁴¹

On 1 August 1866, Egypt was given its allotted space in the “Oriental section” together with the Ottoman Empire, Morocco, Tunisia, China, Japan, Siam, and the principality of Romania (fig. 8). The French and Egyptian government’s official newspapers reported on the Egyptian section’s progress. On 19 August, *Le Moniteur universel* reported that the structures would be off the ground in a few days,⁴² and on 15 November, *al-Waqa’i al-Masriyya* published the final plan with the increased space allocated for the Egyptian section from 4800 sq. m, to 5328 sq. m, which made it the largest section compared to other nations of the Orient, and even “equaled that of England, and surpassed that of America and Russia.”⁴³ The initial plans comprised three structures: one representing Egypt’s antiquity, and two its modern history (one replicating a modest peasant habitation in Upper Egypt with stables, and the other a kiosk in “Arab style”⁴⁴ with a café), the latter two were modified afterward to become a *wikala*, and a *salamlik*, in addition to a modest building serving as a stable and quarters for the animal attendants.⁴⁵

Work progressed in a timely fashion, so that by February 1867, *Le Moniteur universel* reported that the buildings were “almost complete,” and predicted that they would be ready

⁴¹ Chandler, “Paris 1867 Exposition Universelle,” 33.

⁴² « [E]ncore quelques jours, et l’on verra sortir de terre les murs des trois constructions [...] ». “L’Égypte a l’Exposition universelle de 1867.” *Le Moniteur universel*, 251 (19 August 1866,) 1033.

⁴³ The article written on 15 November 1866 in the Egyptian newspaper was the lengthiest dedicated to the Egyptian exhibition, citing the initial plans reported in *Le Moniteur universel* on 19 August 1866 and the modified plans. “Internal News,” *al-Waqa’i al-Masriyya*, 52 (15 November 1866), 236-37.

⁴⁴ “Arab Art” or style was the term used to refer to “Islamic art” until the mid-twentieth century. The Museum of Arab Art in Cairo was renamed Museum of Islamic Art in 1952. In the 19th century, other descriptive terms included “Saracenic,” Mohammedan,” and Moorish art. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 215.

⁴⁵ *Al-Waqa’i al-Masriyya* (1866). See also *Le Moniteur universel*, 251 (19 August 1866), 1033.

before the opening “thanks to the zeal of Charles Edmond [...] and the intelligent energy of Nubar Pasha,” in addition to the “originality of the Egyptian constructions,” and “passion of the Parisian artists and carpenters for this novel work” (fig. 9).⁴⁶

Egypt at the Champ de Mars

The 1867 exposition was Egypt’s second official exhibit at a world fair,⁴⁷ and the Ottomans tried to downplay this independence until the last moment. Edmond rejoiced in his letter to Cairo that he had averted a diplomatic crisis with the Ottomans. Two days before the opening ceremony, Ottoman embassy envoys suggested to Edmond that the Egyptian Commission convene at their site, and the flags and coat of arms of His Highness be surmounted by the Sultan’s, to which he respectfully answered that he “was not a diplomat,” just “a humble servant of his Highness, a simple Commissioner, and that he had no orders from Cairo.”⁴⁸ Hence, on 1 April 1867, the Egyptian Commission participated in the opening ceremony separately “like all the Commissions of powerful countries.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ « L’exposition égyptienne sera donc prête avant l’ouverture [...] L’originalité même des constructions égyptiennes [...] En effet, les artistes, les ouvriers de Paris se sont vite passionnés par ce travail si nouveau pour eux ». “L’Égypte à l’Exposition universelle de 1867,” *Le Moniteur universel*, 42 (11 February 1867), 126.

⁴⁷ Egypt participated independently in London’s 1862 international exhibition. David, *Mariette Pacha*, 144-46 ; see also *London International Exhibition 1862: Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department* (London, Truscott, Son, & Simmons, 1862).

⁴⁸ « Deux jours avant la cérémonie, on m’a expédié des négociateurs de la part de l’ambassade ottomane avec charge de me faire entendre qu’il serait convenable que la Commission égyptienne se réunisse à la Commission turque, de même qu’il était nécessaire que les drapeaux de son Altesse fussent surmontés par celui du Sultan, et que les chiffres et armes de Son Altesse fussent dominés par celui du Padischah. J’ai répondu avec la plus respectueuse énergie, que je n’étais pas un diplomate [...] je n’étais pas qu’un humble serviteur de Son Altesse, un simple Commissaire [...] je n’avais reçu aucun ordre du Caire [...] ». Letter from Charles Edmond to his Excellency dated 3 April 1867. DWQ, *Murassallat*, 5013-004219.

⁴⁹ « J’ai donc déclaré que la Commission Égyptienne se présenterait à la cérémonie séparément, comme les Commissions de toutes les puissances étrangères ». Ibid.

During the exposition's seven-month duration, the Egyptian section offered a journey across six thousand years of history, highlighting three historical periods that Edmond described as, the era of the Pharaohs, the era of the Caliphs, and the era of Isma'il.

Ancient Egypt: The Cradle of Civilization

A temple housing authentic antiquities was intended to signal Egypt's position as the cradle of civilization, as Edmond pointed out, arguing that "the modern civilization attributed to the Greeks and Romans originated from the Nile."⁵⁰ Thus, the temple display "reconstructed the oldest ideas of human civilization, from its religion, its arts, its industry, its customs [...]"⁵¹ Preceded by a pylon and an avenue lined with five sphinxes on each side,⁵² the temple was modeled after Emperor Trajan's kiosk at Philae, combining elements from the "most brilliant periods of the Pharaonic architecture,"⁵³ so that it would be "a lesson of Egyptian archeology"⁵⁴ (fig. 10). Although Mariette considered the granite material a "heresy," as "Egyptian temples

⁵⁰ « [l]a civilisation moderne vient de Rome et de la Grèce ; mais le germe des civilisations romaines et grecques venait du Nil. » Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, i.

⁵¹ « [à] reconstituer par la pensée la plus vieille des civilisations humaines, avec sa religion, sa politique, ses arts, son industrie, ses coutumes [...] ». Ibid., 18.

⁵² The sphinxes were cast from a model in the Louvre Museum. Together with the two statues placed at the entrance, they were reproduced by a new method using cement plastic by Chevalier. Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 15. After the exposition, the sphinxes were installed at the Château Verduron at Marly Le Roy, which belonged to the nineteenth-century playwright, Victorien Sardou (1831– 1908). He may have purchased them or they were offered to him. See Jean-Marcel Humbert, *L'Égypte à Paris* (Action artistique de la ville de Paris, [1998], 132.

⁵³ « [L]es époques les plus brillants de l'architecture pharaonique ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 88. The decorative elements used were from the Old and New Kingdoms and Ptolemaic period.

⁵⁴ « [C]omme une étude d'archéologie égyptienne ». Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 11. For a description of the temple and objects in the interior, see Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 85-128; Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 9-60 ; and Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 115-16.

were built in sandstone,”⁵⁵ he was proud of the hieroglyphs adorning the structure that he recorded himself and which his aide Brugsch had copied. Similarly, the interior offered a diverse sample of Egyptian artworks from the Bulaq Museum—some of which were discovered by Mariette (fig. 11), including the famous diorite statue of Chephren, the wooden *sheikh al-balad* (chief of village), the cow Hathor, and jewels of Queen Ahhotep, which caught the eye of Empress Eugénie. When she asked Isma‘il if he would offer them to her as a gift, he diplomatically agreed, but added that Mariette would have to approve their relinquishment. Hortense Cornu—a writer and Napoleon III’s foster sister and playmate, as well as Mariette’s protégé in Paris—followed up with Mariette on behalf of the Empress, offering him a variety of positions, including the director of the French imperial press or the National Library, as well as a senatorial seat, or a conservator at the Louvre. He was also invited to participate in researching Napoleon III’s *History of Julius Ceasar*.⁵⁶ The second day, Mariette had the jewelry case removed, but later lamented, he lost the chance of earning an annual income of 7,500 francs as a curator at the Louvre.⁵⁷ This incident however, did not prevent the government from awarding Mariette the coveted Legion of Honor.

The pharaonic temple at the exposition was highly praised. It was described as “the most remarkable” of all the pavilions in the Oriental section,⁵⁸ conceived by the “celebrated Egyptologist,” who “discovered some of the most important Egyptian monuments and

⁵⁵ « Quelle hérésie ! Tous les temples égyptiens son construits en grès ! ». Letter from Mariette to Charles Edmond dated 6 July 1866. Cited in Wallon, *Notice sur la vie*, 92.

⁵⁶ Maspero, *Notice biographique sur Auguste Mariette*, 162-63.

⁵⁷ Letter from Mariette dated august 12, 1868. Cited in Wallon, *Notice sur la vie*, 143; see also David, *Mariette Pacha*, 181-82.

⁵⁸ Marie de Launay, “Le Temple égyptien,” in *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. François Ducuing, (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements), vol. 2, 423.

antiquities.”⁵⁹ After all, Europe had a longstanding engagement with Egypt’s antiquity.⁶⁰ But, it was the French campaign in Egypt that marked a turning point, with the publication of *Description de L’Égypte* (1809-28), the discovery of the Rosetta stone and Champollion’s subsequent decipherment of its hieroglyphs in 1822, events that were at the root of modern Egyptology and “Egyptomania.”⁶¹ The Egyptian temple, therefore, not only fed the European appetite for Egyptomania, but also celebrated France’s dominant role in the field, which as Donald Reid aptly pointed out, sometimes the French boasted that Egyptology was a “French science.”⁶²

The pharaonic temple not only served French interests, but also those of the Egyptians. As we have seen above, Egypt’s ancient civilization not only positioned the country as the cradle of civilization, but lent it a unique cultural identity separate from the Ottomans. Pharaonic monuments and art also resulted in a tourist boom in Egypt. Having said this, however, it is important to remember the major role played by the French in establishing the Egyptian Antiquities Service (founded 1858) and the Egyptian Museum (founded 1858 and opened as the

⁵⁹ Marini, “Les Installations Égyptiennes,” 54.

⁶⁰ Europeans knew Egypt’s ancient civilization from Greco-Roman accounts, and later from other European traveler accounts—there were over 300 accounts from the eleventh to eighteenth centuries. See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* 21-28; Patrizia Piacentini, “Percorsi dell’Egittologia all’inizio del XIX secolo: musei e tutela delle collezioni,” in “L’arte senza imitazione: Musei e collezioni di antichità egizie all’epoca di Champollion,” eds. Failla, M.B, and C Piva, *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, n 100 (2010), 13-21.

⁶¹ It is worth noting that the Italian archeologist Giovan Battista Belzoni’s (1778-1823) had a significant influence on the popularity of the Egyptian style in design, art and architecture in London in the early nineteenth century. He presented the first exhibition showing Egypt’s antiquities in an educational and entertaining manner. See Mayes, *The Great Belzoni: The circus strongman who discovered Egypt’s treasures* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks), 2003; Alessia Fassone, and Alessandra Giovannini Luca, “Giovan Battista Belzoni e la mostra a Piccadilly,” *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, 53-58.

⁶² Donald Malcolm Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 19.

Bulaq Museum in 1863),⁶³ which according to Mariette, “the viceroy intends [...] above all to be accessible to the natives.”⁶⁴ The Egyptian elites—who initially learned about their ancient civilization from the Europeans, as Reid noted, would later realize its importance in shaping their “modern national identity.”⁶⁵ The leading nineteenth-century Egyptian intellectuals, al-Tahtawi and ‘Ali Mubarak (1823-93),⁶⁶ who were both sent to study in Paris, embraced Egypt’s ancient civilization as a part of present day Egypt, and they wrote about its history in Arabic. It was only in 1869, however, that Isma‘il and his Minister Mubarak, established a School of Egyptology, and appointed Brugsch as its director—providing an opportunity for Egyptians to become Egyptologists.⁶⁷

Beside the temple stood a statue of Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) (plaster, c. 1867, Musée de Grenoble) by Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904), the sculptor who first visited Egypt in 1855 (fig. 12).⁶⁸ “A gesture from the Egyptian Commission made in good taste

⁶³ See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 54-58, and 99-108.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ A major reformer in nineteenth-century Egypt, ‘Ali Mubarak was sent on a mission to Paris to study military and civil engineering between 1844 and 1849. In 1867 he went to Paris for one year to study educational and sewage systems, after which he was appointed Minister of Public Works and Education. He instituted Cairo’s urban transformation in the late 1860s, and wrote numerous books, most famously *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadidah li-Masr* (Tawfiq’s New Plans for Egypt, 1879-89), a twenty-volume encyclopedic compendium with sections devoted to historical, topographic, biographic, economic, and social data. For a detailed biography, see Nezar Alsayyad, “‘Ali Mubarak’s Cairo: Between the Testimony of ‘*Alamuddin* and the Imaginary of the *Khitat*,” in *Making Cairo Medieval*, ed. Nezar Alsayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser O. Rabbat (Lanham [Md.]: Lexington Books, 2005), 49-66. On Mubarak’s writings about ancient Egypt, see Darrell Dykstra, “Pyramids, Prophets, and Progress: Ancient Egypt in the Writings of ‘Ali Mubarak,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 114, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1994), 54-65.

⁶⁷ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 116.

⁶⁸ In 1855, Bartholdi had traveled to Egypt with Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) and Léon Belly (1827-77) to look for new subject matter and work opportunities. He unsuccessfully proposed to Isma‘il a female monumental lighthouse (the precursor of his most famous sculpture, the Statue of Liberty in New York) on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal, which I will discuss in Chapter 4.

[...] to pay tribute to the illustrious scholar of whom France is very proud,” noted an author of the exposition’s illustrated publication.⁶⁹ Bartholdi initially executed Champollion’s plaster in 1867 to propose to the scholar’s native city, Figeac, which at the time did not have any funds to finance it.⁷⁰ Standing with his left foot over the colossal head of the sphinx, Champollion’s pose echoes one that was described by the writer Volney in his 1791 *Ruines ou Meditations sur les révolutions des Empires*: “I am sitting on the trunk of a column, and there, with my elbow resting on my knee, my head supported by my hand, sometimes looking at the desert, sometimes focusing on the ruins, I abandoned myself to a profound reverie.”⁷¹ *Le journal illustré* dedicated a page to the statue, and noted that “his [Champollion’s] foot rests on this mute witness of the past, whom he swore to break his silence, is already a sign of triumph.”⁷² This image clearly conveying France’s conquest over Egyptian antiquity seems to support Edward Said’s theory of the West’s quest to dominate the East. So how was the statue perceived then? Mariette claimed that Champollion’s pose to be meditative, and went on to boast that “the Egyptian sphinx, so long and so stubbornly silent, will open his mouth. Still some efforts of this deep thought and the

⁶⁹ « La commission égyptienne, par un sentiment plein du goût, a voulu rendre hommage à l’illustre savant dont la France est si fière, Elle a placé entre le temple de Philae et l’okel la statue de Champollion ». Marini, “Les Installations Égyptiennes,” 59.

⁷⁰ After exhibiting the plaster at the exposition, Bartholdi kept it until after his death, when his widow gave it to the city of Grenoble in 1905. Bartholdi had executed a marble sculpture (displayed at the Paris Salon of 1875) that was purchased by the Collège de France and placed in its courtyard. *Association des Ancien Élèves du Lycée Champollion*: <http://www.anciens-lycee-champollion.fr/la-statue-de-champollion-lycee-histoire-acquisition> (Accessed 30 June 2019).

⁷¹ « Je m’assis sur le tronc d’une colonne, et là, le coude appuyé sur le genou, la tête soutenue par la main, tantôt portant mes regards sur le désert, tantôt les fixant sur les ruines, je m’abandonnai à une rêverie profonde ». Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf Volney, *Les ruines, ou Méditation sur les révolutions des empires* (Paris : Desenne, Vollon, Plassan, 1791), 5.

⁷² « [S]on pied pose sur ce témoin muet du passé, dont il a juré de faire parler le silence, est déjà le signe de triomphe ». *Le Journal illustré*, 185 (25 August to 1 September 1867), title page.

veil that covers forty centuries of history will be torn.”⁷³ Additionally, there are no records (to my knowledge) that objected to the statue’s display at the time, and it was likely approved by the Commission and Isma‘il. It was only a hundred thirty years later, however, that a number of Egyptian Egyptologists expressed outrage over Champollion’s pose, and urged the French government to remove it (the statue is still on display, and no further public objections were made).⁷⁴

Medieval Egypt: The Cultural Center of the Islamic World

Egypt chose to represent its Arab and Islamic civilization with a secular building, the *salamlik*. Built of wood and plaster, the structure was covered with bands of blue and red on a white background, and surmounted by a cupola.⁷⁵ Schmitz designed the *salamlik*, while Drévet oversaw the decorative elements in the interior⁷⁶ that was described by the author of *L'Album de l'Exposition illustrée*, Gabriel Richard, as “a dream from *One Thousand and One Nights*” (fig.

⁷³ « Le sphinx égyptien, si longtemps et si obstinant muet, va ouvrir la bouche. Encore quelque effort de cette pensée profonde, et le voile qui, couvre quarante siècles d’histoire sera déchira ». Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 100.

⁷⁴ Nevine el-Aref, “‘Derogatory’ Champollion Statue in Paris angers Egyptians,” *ahramonline* (Tuesday, 26 February 2013): <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/65660/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/Derogatory-Champollion-statue-in-Paris-angers-Egyp.aspx> (Accessed 10 February 2017).

⁷⁵ For a description of the *salamlik* exterior and interior, see Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 190-201; Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 87-93; and Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 111-12.

⁷⁶ According to Edmond Drévet oversaw the arabesques motifs fittings, and harmony of the secondary elements, and the painting and sculptural work by M. Bin and Mallet. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 196. Mariette wrote that the French architect was responsible for the decorative elements (painting and sculpture). Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 87.

13).⁷⁷ The interior included mosque lamps, a gold crescent at the top, a fountain in the center, doors (some of them came from Egypt), and arabesque ornaments, which, on Isma‘il’s request, reproduced those in the room he was born in at the Gamalieh palace⁷⁸—one of several explicit signs to legitimize his dynasty as the heir of this splendid Islamic civilization. Isma‘il’s ceremonial weapons and a medieval illuminated Qur’an were displayed together, which Edmond told his readers were “weapons and the Qur’an, the sword and the law.”⁷⁹ Moreover, Isma‘il’s marble bust (1866, Manial Palace Museum, Cairo) by Charles Cordier (1827-1905) greeted the visitors at the entrance (fig. 14).⁸⁰ Famous for his ethnographic types and polychrome statues, Cordier executed Isma‘il’s bust during his trip to Egypt in 1866, which was funded by the French government to reproduce in sculpture “the various types of indigenous peoples”⁸¹—some of which were exhibited in Egypt’s modern section, as will be discussed hereafter.

Cordier’s bust asserted the khedive’s sovereign authority, while positioning his country with a dual Oriental and Occidental direction. Dressed in his military uniform and *tarbush* (the same attire depicted in the engraving of Edmond’s book), Isma‘il’s image conveys his Oriental

⁷⁷ « [U]n rêve des Mille et un Nuits ». Edouard Siebecker, “Le Selamlík de L’Exposition Universelle,” *L’Album de l’Exposition illustrée. Histoire pittoresque de l’Exposition universelle de 1867*, ed. Richard, Gabriel (Paris: imp. de C. Schiller, 1867), 232.

⁷⁸ « Mariette Bey m’a écrit que S.A. désire que le Selamlík fût exactement comme [...] la représentation [...] arabesque de la chambre du palais de Jamalieh [...] D’ailleurs S.A. a imprimé l’ordre que la Selamlík reproduisait l’ornementation de chambre ou Elle a vu le jour ». Nubar Pasha, Letter to Mahmud Bey dated 3 December 1866. DWQ, *Murassallat*, 5013-004219. According to Edmond, some of the decorative elements may have been inspired by the illuminated Qur’an displayed in the *salamlík*. Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 196. Drévet may have also consulted other publications, such as Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1825* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1839).

⁷⁹ « Il renferme les armes du Vice-Roi et un magnifique Coran.—Les armes et le Coran, le glaive et la loi ». Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 197.

⁸⁰ Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli. *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), 131-32.

⁸¹ In Archives Nationales, Paris F70 201, *ibid.*, 131-32.

identity. At the same time, the mere public display of his bust—bypassing the Islamic prohibition of figural art signals Isma‘il’s affinity with the civilized Occident. Similarly, this Oriental-Occidental dynamic was carried also out in the *salamlık* pavilion. The choice of a residence to represent Egypt’s Islamic civilization contrasted with the Ottoman display—whose centerpiece was a mosque, which Hippolyte Gautier wrote provided “characteristic scenes of Islamic life [...] their [Ottoman] principal element of interest.”⁸² Edmond’s book echoed this sentiment even more strongly, by denouncing the Ottoman association with a supposedly fanatical clergy that hindered innovation and intellectual progress—a sentiment shared by many Europeans at the time. He stated that the revival of the Islamic world could only be achieved by renouncing Turkish privileges acquired by conquests; the participation of all races in military and civil affairs; religious reform and the weakening of the clergy.⁸³ It is important to remember that at the time European public opinion was influenced by a number of factors. The Christian and Muslim conflict in the Middle Ages impacted Western attitudes towards the Islamic Orient. So, Europe strongly reacted as Turkey occupied major Christian territories, in France, for example, the sympathy for the plight of the Greek War of Independence (1821-32). On the political level, France was interested to exert influence or dominate provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia—Algeria was occupied in 1830).

By stressing a secular identity, the pavilion differentiated the Egyptian identity from that of the Ottomans. As Egypt positioned itself as a leader of the Islamic world, as noted by

⁸² « L'exposition turque nous fait donc assister aux scènes les plus caractéristiques de la vie musulmane [...] son principal élément d'intérêt ». Hippolyte Gautier, *Les Curiosités de l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 52.

⁸³ « En résumé, un double grand réforme serait nécessaire pour rendre un peu de vie au monde musulman : renonciation des Turcs aux exorbitants privilèges qu'ils s'arrogent par droit de conquête, et participation de toutes les races aux honneurs et aux emplois civils et militaires ; rénovation religieuse et affaiblissement d'un clergé qui n'a des yeux que pour le passé et qui est aveugle devant les nécessités du présent ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 204.

Edmond, the country endeavored to maintain a balance between its secular and Islamic identity. Therefore, the *salamlık*'s interior offered an explicit Islamic identity, including an inscription over the entrance door from the Qur'an "O thou who openest the doors! Open unto us the door of Good."⁸⁴ A secular exterior was in step with Egypt's Western modernization reforms, while the Islamic themed interior considered the country's and the region's major population—especially in view of Egypt's aspiration of becoming a potential leader of the Islamic world.

The representation of Egypt's medieval Islamic heritage presented another political message. Bypassing its Ottoman sovereign—then the seat of the Caliphate, Egypt chose the politically and cultural powerful Shiite Fatimid Caliphate to represent its Islamic heritage. The Fatimids, who had defied the powerful Sunni Abbasid caliphate in Iraq, established their own empire in North Africa and parts of the Middle East, ruling Egypt from 969 until 1171. Hence, a strong message was directed to the Ottomans that just as the Fatimids had done to the Abbasids, Egypt could also cede from the Ottomans and establish their own powerful empire. Moreover, the Fatimid period witnessed a revival of art and architecture that made Cairo the cultural hub of the Islamic world, a point Edmond emphasized.⁸⁵ It was in Egypt that "the true mosques in Arab [Islamic] style were constructed," and spread to "Syria, Persia, India, and Sicily through North Africa, Spain, and finally to Turkey."⁸⁶ By contrast, Edmond singled out the latter for being incapable of inventing its own art or even tastefully assimilating the art of the others, and

⁸⁴ « O vous qui ouvres les portes, ouvrez-la-nous porte du Bien ». Marini, "Les Installations Égyptiennes," 54.

⁸⁵ On the art and architecture of the Fatimids, see Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 187-214.

⁸⁶ « Les premières mosquées vraiment arabes [...] ont été construites sur les bords du Nil [...] Importé ensuite en Syrie, en Perse, dans les Indes, en Sicile, à travers le nord de l'Afrique, en Espagne, et enfin en Turquie [...] » Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 182.

concluded that “after stealing the Arab genius, they [the Ottomans] let it die.”⁸⁷ Others echoed the same sentiment about Ottoman art and architecture. Hippolyte Gautier, in his account of the exposition’s Ottoman display—which was half the size of the Egyptian one,⁸⁸ stated that it “has not sought to rival the splendor of its neighbors, Egypt and Tunis,” with its “three structures [mosque, residential structure, and public bath] of modest proportions, more appropriate to arouse curiosity than admiration” (fig. 15).⁸⁹

It is worth noting that European interest in Islamic art and architecture had grown over the course of the nineteenth century, although it never rivaled the passion for Egypt’s antiquity. One of the earliest records of Islamic architecture in Egypt was in the two volumes of the *Description de L’Égypte*, called *État Moderne* (Modern State). From the 1830s, detailed studies of Islamic architecture followed, beginning with Pascale Coste’s *Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire* (1839), Robert Hay’s *Illustrations of Cairo* (1840), David Roberts’s *Egypt and Nubia* (3 volumes, 1846-49), and Prisse d’Avennes’s *L’Art Arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire* (3 volumes, 1877). Cairo’s Islamic architecture in the medieval quarters, however, increasingly yielded towards Western influence,⁹⁰ particularly with the major urban renewal

⁸⁷ « Après avoir volé le génie arabe, ils l’ont laissé s’éteindre ». Ibid., 183. Although Edmond disparaged Ottoman art and architecture, its influence in Egypt should not be overlooked. Doris Behrens-Abouseif points out that Muhammad ‘Ali chose the Ottoman architectural style for religious and commemorative monuments (for example his mosque), and an eclectic Ottoman-European one for secular buildings. The latter style continued under his successors, until it was replaced by a European one. See Behrens-Abouseif, “The Visual Transformation of Egypt during the Reign of Muhammad ‘Ali,” in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, eds. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 108-121.

⁸⁸ The Turkish display in the Park was 2780 sq. m. and, in the Palace, it had 1347 sq. m. La Commission Impériale, ed., *Rapport sur l’exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris*, 440, table 8.

⁸⁹ « L’Empire Ottoman n’a pas cherché à rivaliser de splendeur avec ses voisins de l’Égypte et de Tunis ; il s’est borné à élever trois édifices de proportions modestes, plus propres à exciter la curiosité que l’admiration ». Hippolyte Gautier, *Les Curiosités de l’Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris : C. Delgrave et Cie., 1867), 51.

⁹⁰ In the 1840s, a decree was issued forbidding the erection of *mashrabiya* (turned lattice) windows on buildings — the reason being to protect buildings from fire. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, 94 note 85.

plans preceding the Suez Canal opening in 1869. Ismail wanted to position Cairo as a modern European metropolis with a plan similar to that of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann's (1809-91) in Paris.⁹¹ To modernize, many Egyptians were prepared to sacrifice Islamic monuments, as Reid noted, adding that "in mosques—as in Western churches—addition, demolition, and reconstruction had been going on for centuries."⁹² Reid, however pointed out, that the situation of demolishing Islamic sites was more complex. That is, some Egyptians were only devoted to the religious associations of the holy sites rather than to the architecture or ornament of the building, but "there were, or came to be, Egyptians, who cared for preserving Arab art."⁹³

Some Europeans, on the other hand, lamenting the loss of medieval Cairo, called for the establishment of a museum and the preservation of Islamic monuments. In 1881, the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe was formed, consisting of Europeans such as the architects Max Herz (1856-1919), Julius Franz, and Ambroise Baudry (1838-1906), and three years later the Museum of Arab Art (now the Islamic Museum of Art) was established.⁹⁴

⁹¹ While Ismail undertook large public works in the first years of his reign (he was passionate about architecture), it was after his visit to Paris in 1867 where he met Baron Haussmann that he decided to "transform the Egyptian capital following the example of Paris." Mercedes Volait, "Making Cairo Modern (1870-1950: Multiple Models for a 'European Style' Urbanism," in *Urbanism Imported or Exported?* ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (London: Wiley-Academy, 2003), 2. See also, Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, 103-05.

⁹² Donald Malcolm Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism: The Struggle to Define and Control the Heritage of Arab Art in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 24, 1 (Feb., 1992), 58.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Reid points out that Isma'il approved a proposal to found a museum of Islamic Art by the European architects working in the *awqaf* (charitable endowments), the Austro-Hungarian, August Salzmann and the German, Julius Franz. The project however, was not realized at the time. In 1874, the British consul in Cairo, E. T. Rogers asked the International Congress of Orientalists to establish a committee for the preservation, restoration, and recording of Oriental monuments and art. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 223. See also, Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism," 60-62.

Modern Egypt: Revival and Modernization under Isma‘il

Egypt's display and accompanying publication underscored its revival and modernization, which began under Isma‘il's grandfather following what Edmond said was a long period of decadence,⁹⁵ and flourished in “the living Egypt [...] of Isma‘il Pasha.”⁹⁶ An exhibition hall, at the back of the *salamlik* featured relief maps of ancient and modern Alexandria, a mineralogical collection, geological maps, and four hundred books in Arabic and Turkish—including French translations—printed in the Bulaq press, which according to the Egyptian official newspaper, was founded by Muhammad ‘Ali but deteriorated after his death, until Isma‘il brought it back to its previous glory.⁹⁷ Edmond made a point of mentioning that, “the libraries in Cairo are no longer dependent on Malta or Rome [...] for some time we are also printing by lithography in Cairo.”⁹⁸ There were also a group of photographs: some by resident photographer, Désiré Ernié (active in Egypt 1860-80),⁹⁹ which according to Edmond “represented the different trades of the country, local customs, costumes, monuments of ancient

⁹⁵ Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 200.

⁹⁶ « [l]’Égypte vivante [...] d’Ismael Pacha ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 214.

⁹⁷ Isma‘il acquired new steam-powered printers, appointed a new manager, Hussein Amir Bey, who reorganized the press with a trained workers and copy editors. “Internal News,” *Al-Waqa‘i al-Masriyya* (2 May 1867), 236-37.

⁹⁸ « [l]es librairies du Caire ne sont plus tributaires de Malte ni de Rome. On fait aussi depuis peu de temps, au Caire, de la litho-typographie ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 232. For objects in the *salamlik* exhibition, see also Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl. 2, L'Apogée 1867-1873*, vol. 2 (Roma: Nell Istituto poligrafico dello stato per la reale società di geografia d'Egitto, 1934), 15.

⁹⁹ Very little information is written about Ernié. His name is listed variably as Ermé Desiré, Desiré Ernié, and Ernié Desiré. He had a studio in Cairo, and the back of his cartes de visite cited him as “Photographer of H.H., the King of Egypt and the Princess,” and “Photographer of the Viceroy of Egypt.” Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East 1839-1885* (New York: Abrams, 1988), 154.

Egypt and the time of the caliphs, etc., etc.,”¹⁰⁰ and others by Gustave Le Gray (French, 1820-84).¹⁰¹ In addition, there was Schmitz’s design for the modernization of the Gabari palace in Alexandria, for which the architectural jury awarded him an honorable mention.¹⁰²

At the exposition’s Palace, galleries built of wood in the “Pharaonic style,” showcased Egypt’s industrial and agricultural products—including cotton samples, which won a gold medal.¹⁰³ Other products from Nubia, Sennar, Kordofan and Sudan highlighted the territories that “had been annexed to its [Egypt’s] empire.”¹⁰⁴ Also displayed were twenty-six drawings Isma‘il had lent, “Views of ancient monuments of Upper Egypt during the voyage of their Highnesses, the sons of the viceroy, by Le Gray, employed in the service of the Egyptian government” (location unknown).¹⁰⁵ Ten Egyptian ethnographic types sculpted by Cordier (ca. 1866, location unknown), welcomed visitors to the gallery in the exposition Palace (fig. 16). Edmond praised the artistry of the sculptures, writing that they were “true works of art” representing the different types and costumes of the Nile Valley’s men and women.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ « [i]ntéressante collection de photographies représentant les différents corps de métiers du pays, des scènes de mœurs, des usages locaux, des costumes, des monuments de l’Égypte antique et de l’époque des khalifes, etc., etc. ». Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 232.

¹⁰¹ Sylvie Aubenas, *Gustave Le Gray: 1820-1884* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 199. Edmond mentions these photographs only in the catalogue listing at the end of the book, and cites the photographer as a M. Legay of Egypt. Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 332.

¹⁰² Ibid., 232 ; and Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 91.

¹⁰³ The galleries extended from the garden of the exposition’s Palace to the Gallery of Machines. Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle*, 233; see also Douin *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 16-17, and also for Egypt’s prizes at the exposition, 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 17.

¹⁰⁵ Edmond does not mention these in his official book. See *Catalogue général : exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris : Dentu [u.a.], 1867), 198.

¹⁰⁶ « [C]es mannequins sont de véritable oeuvre d’art ». Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle de 1867*, 238. Edmond lists the costumes of Cordier’s sculptures representing a dancer, an Abyssinian woman, a black woman, a peasant woman, *shiekh al-balad*, an ordinary merchant, a black man, a peasant, and a *says* (one who runs before the

The third building, the *wikala*, as Edmond noted, brought to life the small industries and commerce of present-day Egypt.¹⁰⁷ It also showed the country's "living types," as Richard wrote.¹⁰⁸ The two-story structure was designed by Schmitz after the *wikalas* of Sheikh 'Abdel Mansour, and Sidi-'Abdallah in the town of Aswan in Upper Egypt—that included shops, ateliers, lodging for merchants.¹⁰⁹ The interior decoration—which Drévet contributed to—¹¹⁰ included *mashrabiya* screens (made of wood and turned in different forms to create lattice-like patterns), doors, ornamental ceilings, and arabesques. Native artisans transported from Egypt demonstrated their craft making of the goods they sold in the shops that were installed, such as jewelry, lace, saddles, embroidery, ivory, and even a barbershop was installed (fig. 17).¹¹¹ A café offered complimentary coffee, a *chibuk* (Turkish tobacco pipe), and *shisha* (water pipe) to visitors with passes from the Egyptian General Commissioner. There, as Edmond wrote, the

cars), and the tenth costume as being an interior one. Ibid., 341-43. Douin, on the other hand, gives a vivid description of the types: a Coptic woman in village attire with a long white veil; a peasant woman with black dress that is open until her breasts, and her fingers hands adorned with henna, a well-to-do male peasant; an Arab merchant of the Bazaar; a *says*; a black woman serving coffee and an Abyssinian woman carrying the *chibuk*, both with bare breasts and covered with a rich glittery costume; a male peasant carrying a spade and husks of corn, and a black man from Upper Egypt escorting an ivory convoy, armed with a lance, and bow and arrows. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 16. The image I found of the mannequins shows only four of them, and the costumes worn by the two women do not corroborate to Douin's description (see fig. 16).

¹⁰⁷ Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 214.

¹⁰⁸ Gabriel Richard, *L'Album de l'Exposition illustrée : Histoire pittoresque de l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris : imp. de C. Schiller, 1867), 244.

¹⁰⁹ For a description of the *wikala*, see Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 214-222 ; Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 95-100 ; and Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 112-15.

¹¹⁰ According to Mariette, Drévet was responsible for the design of the interior doors, arrangement of the *mashrabiya* screens, arabesque elements on the ceiling, staircase, bath, and other details. Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 96.

¹¹¹ They were the Sheikh Aly Hassan, jeweler from Sudan; Guirgues Mikail and Gabriel Boutrous, jewelers from Cairo; the lace-maker, Ibrahim Cherkawi; Mohamed Id, who embroidered silk and velvet with gold and silver threads; the saddle maker, Hassan Agha; Ahmed Hamed, *chibouk* maker; Aly el Kourdy from Cairo, who made small items of wood, bone, ivory; Said Ahmed, a weaver; and Aly-Dawaba, the barber. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 218-19, 253-55. See also, Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 98.

service was done in typical Arab fashion by five natives under the leadership of Agha-Hassan-Badawi—who like the other workers and artisans in the *wikala*, belonged to different ethnographic types.¹¹²

On the upper floor of the *wikala*, an anthropological gallery organized by Mariette, displayed over five hundred skulls, and a number of mummies that were unwrapped at several sessions, offered by invitation to Parisians interested in the new field of anthropology.¹¹³

Behind the *wikala*, there was a modest construction and a stable for the animals that were brought from Egypt and their attendants.¹¹⁴ Two donkeys and two dromedaries, whose pedigree Edmond detailed as coming from Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt, and from the Sudan were accompanied by two attendants: Mustafa-Aly and Sa'id-‘Abdallah.¹¹⁵ He added that “we call the camel the ship of desert; but the navigation of the Nile is also represented at the Champs de Mars,” with a *Dahabieh* (river boat with some cabins) called *Bent el Nil* (Daughter of the Nile) floating on the Seine.¹¹⁶

European interest in native Egyptians and their habitations stemmed in large part from a longstanding interest in the classification of human types according to their facial physiognomies and distinctive costumes. The creation of the new disciplines of anthropology and ethnography,

¹¹² Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 221-22.

¹¹³ The first session presided by Dr. Paul Broca (1824–80), General Secretary of the Society of Anthropology of Paris was held on May 28, 1867, and was attended by Mariette, scientists, as well as writers and artists including Théophile Gautier (1811–72), Maxime du Camp (1822–94), Alexandre Dumas fils (1824–95), Edmond de Goncourt (1822–96) and Jules de Goncourt (1830–70). See David, *Mariette Pacha*, 177-79; de Goncourt, *Journal des Goncourt*, vol. 3, 129-33; and Gautier, *L'Orient*, vol. 1, 98-110.

¹¹⁴ Drévet designed the stables. Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 101.

¹¹⁵ Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 222-23 ; Mariette, *Description du parc égyptienne*, 101-02.

¹¹⁶ Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 223. According to Douin, after the exhibition, the Khedive offered the *dahabieh* to Eugénie, who graciously declined; and it became the property of Prince Napoleon, who in December of 1867 sent it to the Havre. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 18.

by the middle of the nineteenth century, and the display of these different foreign peoples in Universal exhibitions, gave a strong impetus for the increased demand on portrayals of the country's different "types." One may ask, what was the role of "native" Egyptians in the 1867 installation? Was it to appeal to the European predilection to ethnography and exoticism? Was it an attempt on the part of the French or Egyptian organizers to project cultural difference? In my opinion, while the organizers embraced exoticism and the ethnographic format (of Cordier), there are other factors to consider. As I mentioned earlier, one of the Khedive's main goals was to boost the economy through attracting investments and promoting the wide range of Egyptian products. Edmond, in fact, emphasized Egypt's industrial and agricultural products in the section on modern Egypt, adding that "before describing the products of the diverse areas [...], it is appropriate to study them [the people]."¹¹⁷ Thus, in the gallery showing Egypt's industrial and agricultural products, stood Cordier's sculptures which he had reconstructed to portray Egypt's native population (representing the different races, religions, professions, social classes, and gender). The "human showcases" in the *wikala* of natives in their "authentic" dress—who remained unaffected by Western modernizing reforms—making their crafts, showed an objective and realistic facet of contemporary Egyptian life. Although the *fallahin* or peasants who formed the majority of the population, were minimally represented, they would later emerge as a major component of Egypt's modern identity, when nationalists celebrated the country's Pharaonic heritage and its native people.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ « [A]vant de décrire les produits [...], il convient de les étudier eux-mêmes ». Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle*, 234.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 4.

The Suez Canal Pavilion: A Modern Marvel

Nearby, the Isthmus of Suez pavilion attracted large numbers of visitors because “the exhibition installed at the front of the Oriental section [...], also like the canal itself represented a transition between the Occident and the Orient.”¹¹⁹ In other words, the pavilion could be seen to represent the technological and industrial modernity of the “Occident” that was fast making its way to some countries in the “Orient,” against a backdrop of the geographical, historical and artistic heritage of Egypt. Ferdinand de Lesseps (the French diplomat who masterminded the enterprise, and later headed the Suez Canal Company), himself took part in the display, delivering lectures on the Suez Canal (fig. 18). The exterior, as Théophile Gautier described, was like “a palace or temple with multicolored walls of hieroglyphics, columns with chapels decorated with masks of gilded women and lotus flowers painted in vivid colors.”¹²⁰ Inside, the display boasted a diorama of the isthmus by M. Rubé and M. Chaperon (decorators of the Paris Opera), relief maps of the canal towns, its natural history and geography. Even a stuffed camel that Gautier commented completed “the local color” of the pavilion (fig. 19).¹²¹ A catalog published for the exhibition described the displayed items.¹²² In addition to photographs showing the various aspects of the land and work executed on the isthmus, there were a number of paintings, two that were mentioned by Gautier: *Caravane dans le Grand Lac Amer* by Narcisse

¹¹⁹ « Cette exposition [...] installée au commencement du construction oriental [...], formant ainsi, comme le canal lui-même, une transition entre l'occident et l'orient ». *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle*, 113.

¹²⁰ « [P]alais ou de temple aux parois bariolées d'hieroglyphes, aux colonnes coiffées de chapiteaux que décorent des masques de femmes dorés et de fleurs de lotus peintes de vive couleur ». Gautier, “Autour de l'Exposition. V. L'Isthme de Suez,” *Le Moniteur universel*, 21 (3 August 1867), 1067, reprinted in Gautier, *L'Orient*, vol. 2, 110.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² *Exposition de la compagnie universelle du canal maritime de Suez : catalogues suivis d'une notice sur les travaux et d'annexes explicatives* (Paris : Imprimerie Auguste Vallée, 1867).

Berchère (1819-91)¹²³ and *Le chantier n°6: l'eau de la Méditerranée arrivant dans le lac Timsah, 18 novembre 1862*, 1863, by François Pierre Bernard Barry (1813-1905)—both works are located at the Association du souvenir de Ferdinand de Lesseps et du canal de Suez, Paris.¹²⁴

The Suez Canal pavilion received the lengthiest reviews of all the exhibits, including one by Gautier, who in *Le Moniteur universel* called it a “gigantic project.”¹²⁵ It was after all a major victory for the French and de Lesseps himself. Although the idea of linking the Mediterranean and the Red Seas was not new, in modern times, de Lesseps was the one to realize Napoleon Bonaparte’s dream in the middle of the nineteenth century. With this project, France not only demonstrated the greatness of the Second Empire, but also curtailed Britain’s dominance of the maritime traffic into and out of Egypt and the overland railroad system the British had built.¹²⁶ Moreover, thousands of French citizens had invested in shares of the Suez Canal Company shares.

For Egypt, the Suez Canal project promised more political independence, increased financial income, and enhanced recognition as a strategic partner to a major European nation. Therefore to mark the opening of this gigantic project in the fall of 1869, Isma‘il staged lavish festivities, with which, as in the French exposition, he set out to impress the world. Cairo was revitalized, Isma‘ilia (the town where many of the festivities were held) boasted new and

¹²³ Narcisse Berchère was appointed by Lesseps to visually record the first phase of construction of the Suez Canal Company. His album containing 68 plans, drawings, and watercolors was destroyed when the Tuileries Palace was burned down by the Paris Commune in 1871. He also published a journal of his voyage, titled *Le désert de Suez. Cinq mois dans l'Isthme* in 1863. See Narcisse Berchère, *Le Désert De Suez: Cinq Mois Dans L'isthme*, 1863, reprint, ed. Barbara Wright (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2010).

¹²⁴ Gautier, “Autour de l’Exposition. V. L’Isthme de Suez,” 116.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 110-22.

¹²⁶ While the French sought rights to dig the Suez Canal, the British rallied to build railroads in Egypt, which they did under ‘Abbas in 1851. The railroad between Cairo and Alexandria was completed in 1854, followed by Cairo and Suez link in 1858. See Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, 99.

temporary structures, and the guest list included the A-list of European literary and political figures—among the royal guests were the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph, the Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, and Empress Eugénie.

The Khedive at the Exposition

The highlight of Egypt's presentation at the exposition however, was Khedive Isma'il, who arrived in Paris on the 16th of June, 1867 as Napoleon III's guest. Baron Haussmann, M. Pietri, the prefect of police, and Djemil Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador received Isma'il at the train station before he made his way to the Tuileries where Empress Eugénie welcomed him (the Emperor was unable to attend because of rheumatic pains).¹²⁷ At the exposition's *salamlik*—where he had private rooms to rest, Isma'il was seen seated on a divan “smoking from his long Oriental pipe,” graciously welcoming notable Parisians with “his charm that is serious and so fine.”¹²⁸ Among his guests were the French Emperor and Empress and the Imperial Prince, and together they toured the exhibit with Mariette and Edmond (fig. 20). *Le Figaro* wrote of his “good nature,” “good humor,” his European attire and Oriental headdress (the *tarbush*), and “perfect French without the slightest accent.”¹²⁹ This was not Isma'il's first visit to Paris; he was himself a graduate of the military academy of St. Cyr. François Ducuing, the editor of the

¹²⁷ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 6.

¹²⁸ « Assis sur son divan, aspirant la fumée de sa longue pipe orientale [...] sous le charme de son esprit si sérieux et si sérieux et si fin [...] » Ibid., 14.

¹²⁹ « On a tout d'abord remarqué son air affable, sa tenue pleine de bonhomie et l'extrême bienveillance avec laquelle il accueille tout le monde [...] Ismail parle le français le plus pur, sans le moindre accent. Il est vêtu à l'européenne, mais coiffé du fez ». *Le Figaro*, (19 June 1867). Cited in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 8.

exposition's illustrated publication described Isma'il's Parisian education as an "Occidental baptism," and praised Isma'il's support for the Suez Canal project—that was concluded by his uncle Sa'id Pasha, and for obtaining from the Ottomans the right to change the succession order from seniority to primogeniture [in 1866], which was "an entirely new element in the history of the Qur'an."¹³⁰ Ducuing concluded his article with the prediction that Egypt will "become the providence of Europe, sometimes for wheat, sometimes for cotton, and soon for transit."¹³¹

Isma'il's new title of khedive got little attention in the French press. For the most part, he was referred to as Pasha or Egypt's Viceroy. However, *L'Illustration* did report that he was officially given the title of sovereign.¹³² Isma'il was also officially recognized as the king of Egypt during his sojourn in Paris, even though as Nubar Pasha recounted, Napoleon III asked him about the implication of the title of Khedive.¹³³ He answered: "A purely honorary title, Sire. But the importance of the *firman* obtained is that it constitutes the complete autonomy of Egypt, and grants the Khedive the right to make legislative conventions."¹³⁴

Isma'il's activity in Paris also received ample coverage in the French press. Besides the ceremonies and receptions that he attended, it was reported, that he did not waste a minute in Paris, "he visited all the monuments, the museums and institutions that could familiarize him

¹³⁰ « [U]n fait tour nouveau dans l'histoire du Coran ». François Ducuing, "Les visites souverains, " in *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, vol. 1, 375.

¹³¹ « L'Égypte destinée à devenir la providence de l'Europe, tantôt pour le blé, tantôt pour le coton, et bientôt pour le transit ». Ibid.

¹³² « On sait qu'une démarche faite par le vice-roi à Constantinople lui a donné officiellement le titre de souverain ». René du De Merzer, "Le Vice-Roi D'Égypte à Paris," *L'Illustration*, n 1270 (29 June 1867), 406.

¹³³ Ghali, *Mémoires de Nubar Pacha*, 311.

¹³⁴ « Un titre purement honorifique, Sire. Mais l'importance de firman obtenu est en ce qui constitue l'autonomie complète de l'Égypte, et accorde au khédive le droit de faire des conventions douanières ». Ibid., 311.

with the French industrial ingenuity and progress.”¹³⁵ The French press also reported on the complex relation between the Khedive and the Sultan. On 27 June 1867, according to the *Gazette de France*, Isma‘il was scheduled to leave France before Sultan ‘Abdul‘aziz’s (r. 1861-76) arrival, “a question of etiquette and self-esteem: an omnipotent sovereign of Egypt, whatever title he bears, Isma‘il must not bother to figure in the Sultan's entourage as a vassal and on par with the accompanying ministers.”¹³⁶ Two days later, the same journal stated that Isma‘il had received an order to postpone his departure until after the sultan’s arrival. “Going to meet the Sultan at Toulon where he disembarked might seem as an exaggerated deference,” but “if he waited for the Sultan at the station in Paris [...] [Isma‘il] could be [seen as] too bold [...] so he decided for middle of the road solution and met him at Dijon.”¹³⁷ The Sultan and the Khedive were seen riding together on the Bois de Boulogne before the Khedive continued his journey to England on the 5th of July.¹³⁸

Conclusion

¹³⁵ « Il visitant tous les monuments, les musées et les établissements qui peuvent le mieux lui faire connaître et apprécier le génie de l'industrie française et les incessants progrès de notre organisation intérieure ». Quote from *Journal du Havre*, cited in Douin, vol. 2, 12.

¹³⁶ « Le vice-roi d'Egypte, lit-on dans la *Gazette de France* du 27 juin, quittera Paris avant l'arrivée d'Abdul-Aziz, question d'étiquette et d'amour-propre : souverain omnipotent en Égypte, quel que soit le titre qu'il porte, Ismail ne doit pas se soucier de figurer dans le cortège du Sultan à titre de vassal et sur un pied d'égalité avec les ministres qui l'accompagnent ». *Gazette de France* (27 June 1867). Cited in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, 20.

¹³⁷ « Aller attendre le Sultan à Toulon pour le recevoir à son débarquement, c'était s'amoindrir et affaiblir par une déférence exagérée son prestige [...] Se bornerait-il à aller attendre le Sultan à la gare de Paris, lorsqu'il descendrait de wagon ? c'eût été peut-être par trop hardi [...] Il a donc pris un moyen terme et s'est rendu à Dijon. C'est là qu'il attendra le Sultan, avec lequel il reviendra à Paris ». *Gazette de France* (29 June 1867). Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 21.

This chapter aimed to show the various political, cultural, and economic subtexts underlying the Egyptian representation at the 1867 exposition. Praised in France as “the most splendid,” and “the most complete,” the exhibition realized Isma‘il’s objectives of presenting a powerful independent nation, with a unique cultural identity. As we have seen, the orchestrated display set-up and publications emphasized Egypt’s unique position among the Islamic nations. Heir to the Pharaohs—one of the oldest civilizations, it was also the center of the Islamic world under the Fatimids, and it could again assume that role under the khedival dynasty. In fact, Edmond, in the official catalogue encouraged the Islamic countries to cede from the Ottoman Empire, asserting that “the true civilization, thanks to the genius of Muhammad ‘Ali took a foothold on the banks of the Nile [...] and that Cairo will certainly be able to recapture the position the Fatimid Caliphs accorded it.”¹³⁹ It also could “become among the most civilized countries in Europe,”¹⁴⁰ and a “*trait d’union*” or “hyphen” between Europeans and lesser known countries in the Far East.”¹⁴¹ The Paris Exposition also marked the “apogee” of Isma‘il’s reign,¹⁴² an image that was effectively promoted by showcasing Egypt’s industrial and technological advances, its important export products, as well as the Khedive, himself.

¹³⁹ « La vraie civilisation, grâce au beau génie de Méhémet, a pris pied sur les bords du Nil, elle s’y acclimate [...] mais assurément le Caire saura reconquérir le rang où les khalifes fatimites l’avaient placé ». Ibid., 205.

¹⁴⁰ « [L]es Expositions, la plus splendide, la plus complète, celle vous le souvenir restera impérissable, a été l’Exposition vice-royale [...] Je vous parle de la reforme judiciaire, de cette puissante organisation méditée par Son Altesse Ismail, et qui une fois réalisée permettra à l’Égypte de devenir [parmi ?] les pays les plus civilisée de l’Europe ». Excerpt from a speech by M. Donnat, the director of the expositions’ foreign section. Letter from Edmond, unaddressed, undated, and unsigned, numbered 186, *Communications on the Egyptian Exhibition*. DWQ, Murassallat, 5013-004219.

¹⁴¹ Marni, “Les Installations Égyptienne,” 54.

¹⁴² Douin uses the term “apogee” for Isma‘il’s reign from 1863 to 1873. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 2, title page.

Egyptian-French encounters at the Paris exposition offer a more nuanced reading of a complex and intricate web of aesthetic, political, economic relationships between interested parties. Ismail sought to realize his grandfather's dream of seceding from the Ottomans and creating an Egyptian Empire—to do that he sought an alliance and protection from a strong European power. The ailing Ottoman Empire or the “sick man of Europe” at the time, endeavored to hold onto its provinces, while France aspired to beat its British rival and continue to have a foothold in Egypt to secure its political and economic interests, and counterbalance the British closeness with the Ottomans.

As we have seen in this chapter, Isma‘il not only had an audible voice in organizing the display, but effectively used it as a vehicle for propaganda. To achieve his goals, he turned to the French, using the best talents in the various fields to prepare for the exhibition. By the same token, the Commissions members, artists, and architects—in the service of the Khedive—sought to satisfy their patron as they pursued their own financial and career interests. While aggrandizing Egypt and the Khedivial dynasty, fulfilling Ismail's vision, the Egyptian display also fed Europe's appetite for Egyptomania, *One Thousand and One Nights*, and the exotic.

The Paris exhibition was, however, Egypt's last grand display abroad—the country officially participated in three other world fairs on a much smaller scale, before the British occupation in 1882. However, Isma‘il had an even greater opportunity to capture world attention in 1869, with the spectacular inauguration he staged in Egypt to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 2

The Opening of the Suez Canal in 1869

The Vice Roy expressed [...] his desire to give the utmost splendor and solemnity to the inauguration of a work that all the people agree to regard as the most important and useful of modern times; a work, his Highness is glorified and honored to have.

Voisin Bey, 1902.¹

Introduction

In 1869, the Suez Canal was completed, joining the Mediterranean and the Red Seas and the East with the West (fig. 21). Taking advantage of “one of the biggest events of the century,” Khedive Isma‘il staged a spectacular inauguration that captured the world’s attention.² He was personally involved in planning the festivities with Nubar Pasha and Ferdinand de Lesseps. Cairo was revitalized—including the construction of an Opera House—and the cities along the canal (Port Said, Isma‘ilia and Suez) were dressed up to host the celebration. The one-thousand-person guest list (with all expenses paid by the Khedive) included European royals alongside the leading names in science, literature, art, and journalism. The French delegation, led by Empress Eugénie, was the largest, and included the most celebrated writers, art critics, and artists, as well as a large

¹ « Le vice-roi manifesté [...] son désir de donner le plus éclat et la plus grande solennité possible à l’inauguration d’un œuvre que tous les peuples s’accordaient à regarder comme la plus grande et la plus utile des temps modernes ; d’une œuvre, qu’à ce titre, son Altesse se faisait gloire et honneur d’avoir. » Voisin Bey, *Le Canal de Suez*, vol. 1 (Paris : Vve Ch. Dunod, 1902), 296. Voisin was the Director General of the works in the Suez Canal Company from 1865 to 1870, and wrote about his years with the company in *Le Canal de Suez*, 7 volumes (1902-06).

² « [P]lus grands évènements de ce siècle ». H. Bernard and E. Tissot, *Itinéraire pour l’isthme de Suez et les grandes villes d’Égypte : navigation, chemins de fer, hôtels, monuments et lieux célèbres, calendrier, poids et mesures, vocabulaire français-égyptien, etc.* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1869), 1.

press corps representing major newspapers—which in the eyes of the Khedive were crucial to ensuring extensive international visibility. And they did so with a large body of text and images.

The wide media coverage³ and numerous publications covering the Suez Canal inauguration represent an important aspect of this universal event that has received almost no attention in the literature on the subject—that is, the significance of Isma‘il’s participation in planning this event for political and economic gain, and its use for publicity.⁴ Scholarship on the Suez Canal inauguration has generally focused on its similarity to universal exhibitions, or, on the paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs representing the event.⁵ The latest addition to this body of literature is the exhibition *The Epic of the Suez Canal from the Pharaohs to the 21st Century* that opened at the Arab World Institute in Paris on 28 March 2018, to commemorate the upcoming one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the canal’s inauguration. Admitting that the history presented was “truly Franco-Egyptian,” the exhibition and catalog highlighted the opening festivities, the major players involved (Isma‘il and Ferdinand de Lesseps), as well as the

³ In Egypt at the time of the Suez Canal opening, there were only two journals: *al-Waqa‘i al-Masriyya* (Egyptian Events), the government’s journal comprising mainly official reports and news with little cultural content; and *Wadi al-Nil* (The Nile Valley), a short-lived semi-weekly newspaper from 1867 until 1874, sponsored by the Khedive. At the time of my research in Egypt, however, neither the November issues of *al-Waqa‘i*, or the *Wadi* were available.

⁴ Adam Mestyan devotes a section in a chapter to the 1869 Suez Canal ceremonies, in which he posits that Isma‘il sought to project Egypt as modern state ruled by a powerful sovereign. Adam Mestyan, “Art and Empire: Khedive Ismail and the Foundation of the Cairo Opera House,” (Master’s thesis, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2007), 65-73.

⁵ Timothy Mitchell was the first to suggest the likeness of the Suez Canal inauguration to the French 1867 universal exhibition; see Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*. See also Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 145-51; Nathalie Montel, *Hippolyte Arnoux, Photograph de l’Union des Mers, Le canal de Suez vers 1880* (Paris, Centre historique des Archives National, Hôtel des Soubise, 1997); Christine Peltre, “De l’entre-deux-mers à l’entre-deux-mondes: l’Oriarguing that ent ancien et moderne du canal de Suez,” in *Mélanges en l’honneur de Pierre Vaisse*, ed. Leila El-Wakil, Stéphanie Pallini, and Lada Umstatter-Mamedova (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2006), 119-26; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, “Suez’s Statue Earth/Photography,” in *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal* by Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2012), 20-69; Hélène Bräuner, “Les représentations du Canal de Suez (XVe-XXe siècles): esthétiques et politiques d’une vision,” (PhD diss., University of Strasburg, 2015), 316-63; and Marlies Dornig, “Conquering the Territory: The Suez Canal and its Early Depiction in Photography,” *Photo Researcher*, 28 (2017), 46-56.

sovereigns and French personalities assembled to celebrate a work “that symbolized the rebirth of Egypt.”⁶

This chapter will examine the organization of the Suez Canal inauguration in 1869, the celebrations, and key functions that highlight the uniqueness of this event at the time. Following Egypt’s successful display at the Paris Exposition Universelle two years earlier, the opening of the canal presented the Khedive with an even grander opportunity to assert his country’s global stature: it offered him the possibility of further consolidating his political independence, casting his dynasty as an ally of France, one of the major European powers, and positioning Egypt as the key to global trade routes, or in his words, making the country “become once again, as it had been long ago, the hyphen between Europe and the Orient.”⁷

To celebrate this world event, Isma‘il once again emphasized Egypt’s unique cultural identity and bypassed any association with the Ottomans. He envisaged a vivid tableau uniting world cultures and religions, while ensuring the visible participation of the various segments of the Egyptian population. Egypt’s ancient past and Cairo’s urban development were the highlights during the month-long prelude to the official ceremonies from the 16th to the 20th of November. A mix of European and local entertainment and events flavored the celebrations. Valuing the power of art and propaganda,⁸ he enlisted some of the most talented writers and artists, mostly

⁶ Jack Lang, President of the Arab World Institute, *L'épopée du canal de Suez*, Gilles Gauthier ed. (Paris: Gallimard Institut du monde arabe; Marseille: Musée d'histoire de Marseille, 2018), [Foreward].

⁷ « [C]omme elle l'a été autrefois, le trait-d'union entre l'Europe et l'Extrême Orient ». Confidential typewritten letter from Isma‘il to de Lesseps dated 23 April 1869. DWQ, *Khitabat min Isma‘il Ela de Lesseps bi khousous Qanat al Suez* (Letters from Isma‘il to de Lesseps regarding the Suez Canal), 0069-004754.

⁸ Isma‘il’s knowledge of the power of propaganda was cited in several history books, such as James Carlile Mccoan, *Egypt Under Ismail* (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1889), 103; and F. Robert Hunter, *Egypt Under the Khedives (1805-1879): From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy* (Pittsburgh, 1984), 70.

from France, to convey to the world Egypt's ancient glory, and project it as a modern civilized country, with a promising future. For the French, this was also a triumphant moment to celebrate their engineering ingenuity in creating the shortest route from Europe to the Far East, in addition to undermining Britain, their long-standing rival in both maritime and railroad dominance in Egypt.

From Ancient Egyptian times to the Nineteenth Century

The vision of joining the Red Sea to the Mediterranean goes back to the ancient Egyptians, when a canal made an indirect connection through the River Nile.⁹ Napoleon Bonaparte revived the idea during his Egyptian campaign and explored building a canal that would directly link the two seas, but with little success.¹⁰ Decades later, the Saint-Simonian Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin revisited Napoleon's canal project, which he believed would become the "symbolic marriage" between the "female East and male West." In 1846, he founded the Suez Canal Study Group—which included engineers from England, France, and Austria—to explore building a canal.¹¹ But Muhammad 'Ali opposed the proposed canal, primarily because he believed it "presented dangers for the security and existence of Egypt."¹² As the historian Muhammad Rifa'at Bey wrote, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha was "convinced that the construction of

⁹ The first canal connecting the two seas through the River Nile was dug under Pharaoh Senusret III (1878-1762 BCE). The canal was extended under the Romans, but later destroyed, and rebuilt under the Caliph 'Amr ibn al-'As in 640 AD. It was left to silt in the eighth century.

¹⁰ Napoleon's engineer Jacques-Marie Le Père, erroneously reported there was a difference in the measurements of the two seas, and the project was unrealized. Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 125.

¹¹ Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 2003), 31. On the Saint-Simoniens, see Philippe Régnier, *Les saint-simoniens en Égypte (1833-1851)* (Cairo: Banque de l'Union Européenne Amin Fakhry Abdelnour, 1989).

¹² « [P]résentant des dangers pour la sécurité et l'existence de l'Égypte ». Ghali, *Mémoires de Nubar Pacha*, 64.

the canal [...] would place Egypt with regard to the Powers in the same plight that Turkey was because of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles.”¹³ In addition, it would undermine his favorite city, Alexandria, as a commercial port.¹⁴

Muhammad Ali’s position seemingly echoes Edward Said’s position regarding the Suez Canal vis a vis Western Imperialism:

In the Suez Canal idea we see the logical conclusion of the Orientalist thought and, more interesting of Orientalist effort. To the West, Asia had once represented silent distance and alienation; Islam was militant hostility to European Christianity [...]

De Lesseps and his canal finally destroyed the Orient's distance, its cloistered intimacy *away* from the West, its perdurable exoticism. Just as a land barrier could be transmuted into a liquid artery, so too the Orient was transubstantiated from resistant hostility into obliging, and submissive partnership. After de Lesseps no one could speak of the Orient as belonging to another world, strictly speaking. There was only "our" world, "one" world bound together because the Suez Canal had frustrated those last provincials who still believed in the difference between worlds.¹⁵

Said’s argument, in my opinion, falls short in a number of areas. First, how is it that the canal “finally destroyed the Orient's distance?” Egypt was already open to the Western world, even before the French invasion in 1789—as noted in the previous chapter,¹⁶ but, improved means of transport by the mid-nineteenth century led to a Western travel boom. Second, how was the Orient “transubstantiated from resistant hostility into obliging, and submissive partnership,” by the construction of the canal? Egyptian European encounters—mostly with the

¹³ Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 126.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 91-92.

¹⁶ See Chapter 1, 14.

French—were well under way in the wake of Muhammad Ali’s Western-inspired reform projects. These encounters, including the canal project reflect a complex dynamic of mutual interests—whether economic, political, or personal—of the parties involved. Having said this, however, what comes to mind is Donald Reid’s observation that the French expedition marked a turning point for Anglo-French “geopolitical rivalry.”¹⁷ In the same way, one can hypothesize that the canal possibly triggered a final confrontation between the two powers, precipitating Britain’s dominance of the country in 1882.

Napoleon’s vision of building a canal to directly connect the Mediterranean to the Red Sea was finally realized by the middle of the nineteenth century. It was Ferdinand de Lesseps who made that dream a reality. He had both the necessary vision and entrepreneurial skills and besides being a close friend of Egypt’s new ruler, Sa’id Pasha (r. 1854-63), he was Empress Eugénie’s cousin.¹⁸ He also landed a deal that served French interests while compromising those of Egypt. In 1858, de Lesseps launched the Universal Maritime Suez Canal Company, setting conditions for the Company’s agreement to carry out the project: Egypt would supply the land and labor (*corvée*) and in return, receive fifteen per cent of the annual profits.¹⁹ Foreign shareholders would fund the company. However, despite the Company’s active marketing campaign with the publication the *Journal de l’union des deux mers*, (1856-69), and, later, with

¹⁷ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* 32.

¹⁸ For information on de Lesseps, see George Edgar-Bonnet, *Ferdinand de Lesseps : Le Diplomate, Le Créateur de Suez* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1951); Karabell, *Parting The Desert*, 38-49.

¹⁹ For the treaty of the Suez Canal and its revised terms, see Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 1, 19-92. In the nineteenth century, Egyptian peasants were used as *corvée* labor for irrigation projects on the Nile, for public works and agriculture, and military impressment. See Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 169-80.

the Suez Canal display at the 1867 Paris exposition, contributions remained limited to the French and Egypt's ruler.²⁰

Construction began in April 1859—even though the Ottoman government did not give its formal approval until 1866—and the project faced many obstacles and setbacks. The British strongly opposed the project and tried to deter it through their Ottoman allies. The canal not only threatened their economic interests—namely their railroads in Egypt, but Lord Palmerston (Prime Minister, 1855-58 and 1859-65) was more concerned about the agreement made between de Lesseps and Sa'id “to transfer to a French Company [...] and at any time to the French government, the possession of a large province of Egypt.”²¹ When Isma'il took power in 1863, the Ottoman Porte (government)—at the urging of the British, demanded that he revoke the land and labor concessions that Sa'id had made, and he agreed. Diverging from the French position, Isma'il also believed that the original contract was not in Egypt's best interest, and he wanted “the Canal to serve Egypt, and not Egypt the Canal.” Napoleon III arbitrated between the Egyptian government and the Company, and Isma'il had to pay an exorbitant indemnity of 84,000 francs.²² As a result of the 1863 revisions, the Egyptian labor force—whose workers had used picks and shovels to dig the canal—was significantly reduced compelling the company to introduce steam shovels and dredgers and to recruit European laborers. Overall, a million Egyptians worked in the canal construction, and many died, mostly from disease (especially

²⁰ The majority of shares were sold in France, and Sa'id purchased 176,602 shares out of which half could not be sold in Britain, Austria, and the United States where the project was discouraged. Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 128.

²¹ Lord Houghton, “Opening of the Suez Canal,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, XIV, 2 (1852), 95: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1799551> (Accessed 10 January 2018).

²² Modifications of the contract stipulated that the canal should be exclusively used for commercial purposes; withdraw land and labor concessions (Isma'il reduced the workers to 6,000 men). Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 131.

cholera). It took ten years to complete the canal, or as the aristocratic writer, Countess Drohojowska aptly described it, this “admirable triumph of the will, science, and work.”²³

Shaping the Opening Ceremonies

The historian, Georges Douin noted that Isma‘il “presided himself over the canal opening preparations with an ardent and a youthful zeal.”²⁴ As Nubar Pasha and de Lesseps discussed the opening plans in Paris in the summer of 1869, the Khedive made some modifications, “dictated by the respect of [...] religious sentiments of the majority of the population [...] and national customs and historical traditions of modern Egypt.”²⁵ He asked for the official inauguration to be preceded by a Muslim and Christian blessing; for inviting the indigenous population for the festivities “from all regions of Egypt, even tribes from the Sudan” for “games and national entertainment;” and for suggesting in the program that “the invitees attend these various Arab celebrations.”²⁶ As we will see, the religious ceremony was the highlight of the inauguration, being that “for the first time, there is a reunion of beliefs in the Orient, blessing and celebrating a [...] work that will have an impact throughout the world,” as Charles Taglioni, one of the

²³ « [C]ette admirable triomphe de la volonté, de la science, and du travail ». Antoinette-Joséphine-Françoise-Anne Drohojowska, *L'Égypte et le canal de Suez* (Paris : A. Laporte, 1870), 177.

²⁴ « [P]résidant lui-même aux préparatifs avec une ardeur toute juvénile ». Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 432-33.

²⁵ « Ces modifications [...] sont toutes dictées par les égards dus aux sentiments religieux de la grande majorité des habitants du pays ainsi que par le respect des coutumes nationales et des traditions historiques de l'Égypte moderne ». Ibid., 435.

²⁶ « Des habitants de toutes les contrées de l'Égypte, mêmes des tribus du Soudan [...] il y aura des jeux et des divertissements nationaux [...] jeux et des divertissements nationaux [...] il faudrait dire dans le programme que les invités iront visiter ces diverses fêtes arabes ». Ibid., 435. For information on Egypt's “Arab” tribes, see Michael Winter, “Ottoman Egypt, 1525-1609,” in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 20-24.

invitees, remarked.²⁷ Isma‘il’s action also paid homage to Egypt’s Muslims and Coptic population, as well as its large European community. Additionally, he included all Egyptians (from different backgrounds) in joining the celebration to instill a sense of national pride and allegiance to the dynasty. This gesture is not surprising, considering the Egyptianizing initiatives that he had undertaken since taking power, such as making the Arabic language the official language of the country (1869), the sponsorship of works in Arabic including poems, songs, and newspapers (*Wadi-al Nil* in Cairo, *al-Jawa’ib* in Istanbul, and *Hadiqat al-Akhbar* in Beirut), and in 1870 the establishment of the Khedivial Library (today the Egyptian National Library) containing a huge variety of Arabic manuscripts.

Isma‘il and de Lesseps compiled the list of invitees. Isma‘il recognized the importance of inviting editors of the major European journals, and wrote Nubar Pasha requesting the invitations to go out in his name, and invitees to “be treated as government invitees [...] and [that] all their expenses paid.”²⁸ This list, Douin tells us, soon expanded to include the luminaries of science, art, and literature.²⁹

In France, Charles Edmond was called upon to compile a list of this distinguished group of invitees, and to organize a banquet for all those who made the trip to Egypt after their return.³⁰ Telegrams were sent to the respective European embassies—such as the one sent on 20 July

²⁷ « Pour la première fois l'on vit en Orient une réunion de croyances, bénir et célébrer [...] une œuvre appelée à avoir un retentissement dans le monde entier ». Charles Taglioni, *Deux mois en Égypte, journal d'un invité du khédive* (Paris : Chez Amyot, 1870), 215-16.

²⁸ « Ils seront traités comme les hôtes du gouvernement et ils n'auront aucune dépense à faire ». Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 280. Entire typewritten letter dated 30 April 1869, cited in Hilmi Namnam and Nifin Muhammad Musa, *The Suez Canal: Documentation of an Egyptian Dream* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub wa Al-Watha‘iq al-Qawmiyya, 2015), 51.

²⁹ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 280.

³⁰ Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956), 307, note 1.

1869 from the embassy in Vienna to its counterpart in London and Paris stating that “Nubar Pasha requests a list of twenty scientific and artistic notables, whom he wishes to invite in the Viceroy’s name for the Canal’s inauguration.”³¹

The French delegation was by far the largest. Different fields were represented: science and medicine by the chemists A. J. Balard, Ch. A. Wurtz and Marcelin Berthelot; the naturalist and anthropologist J. L. A. de Quatrefages; the physiologist E. J. Marey; the physicist J. C. Jamin; the physician P. P. Broca; art by Eugène Fromentin, Narcisse Berchère, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Charles Emile de Tournemine, Eugène Guillaume, Édouard Riou, and Alfred-Henri Darjou; literature and press by Charles Blanc, Louise Colet, Théophile Gautier, Florian Pharaon, Auguste M. Marc and others representing the major newspapers including *La France*, *Le Moniteur universel*, *L’Illustration*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde illustré*.³²

The English invitees, as Lord Houghton tells us, were about fifty, but “the French and the Germans came in large bodies.”³³ The German delegation was led by the Egyptologist Dr. Karl Richard Lepsius and included the sculptor Friedrich Drake. Among other nationalities was the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville, the Spanish director of the museum in Madrid, M. Ghisbert.³⁴

³¹ « Nubar Pasha nous demande la liste de 20 not[-]bilités scientifiques et artistiques qu’il veut inviter au nom du Viceroy pour l’inauguration ». Telegram cited in *The Suez Canal*, 54.

³² For a list of the French invitees, see Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, vol. 2, 359-67.

³³ Lord Houghton, “Opening of the Suez Canal,” 92.

³⁴ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 436.

The Khedive went to Europe that summer to personally invite the sovereigns to the inauguration.³⁵ His European trip was extensively covered in the press, the details of which Jules Chevalier de la Teillais compiled in a book dedicated to Isma‘il in 1870, as a “living and lasting testament for Europe’s unanimous admiration for the one who prepared his people for great destinies and opened the world to new horizons.”³⁶

The press releases in de la Teillais’s book reflects Isma‘il’s popularity in Europe at that time. Every step was recounted, from his outing to the Opera in Paris to watch *Faust* with his son, Hussein Pasha, where they sat in the Emperor’s box—both of them dressed in white tie with their *tarbush* and legion of honour decoration³⁷—to his gesture, before leaving Vienna of giving 10,000 florins for the poor, out of which 4,000 were for the Jewish population.³⁸ His modernizing projects in Egypt also made the press. Thomas Grimm wrote in *Le Petit Journal* of Egypt’s railroads, electric telegraphs, engineering school, school of Arts and trades, French law school, and added that even the language universally used there is “ours,” and that the French journal most read there is *Le Petit Journal*.³⁹

³⁵ The Khedive traveled from May to July 1869, visiting Venice, Florence, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, and Brussels, and at the end went to the spa at Eaux-Bonnes in France. For details of the trip, see Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 283-308.

³⁶ « [C]onstatation vivante et durable de l'admiration unanime témoigne par l'Europe a celui qui a préparé son peuple a de grandes destinées et ouvert au monde entier de nouveaux horizons ». Jules Chevalier de la Teillais, *Le voyage de Son Altesse le vice-roi d'Égypte et la presse européenne* (Paris : impr. de G. Kugelmann, 1870), 11. The majority of the book consists of articles from French newspapers; other articles were from Italian, Austrian, and British newspapers.

³⁷ “Les Souverain A Paris-Le Vice-Roi D’Égypte,” *La Petite Presse* (16 June [1869]) ; repr. in de la Teillais, *Le voyage de Son Altesse le vice-roi d'Égypte*, 116.

³⁸ *L’Univers* (17 June [1869]), repr. in *ibid.*, 85.

³⁹ Thomas Grimm, “Le Vice-Roi D’Égypte a Paris,” *Le Petit Journal* (15 June [1869]), repr. in *ibid.*, 112.

Isma‘il was treated like a sovereign everywhere he went, a matter that elicited Ottoman objection. *L’Univers* described the Ottoman ambassador’s objection to the Viennese proposed ceremony of welcoming Isma‘il as a true sovereign, adding that only the French ambassador’s “energetic intervention” persuaded the Emperor to welcome him in the presence of the Ottoman ambassador.⁴⁰ In Paris, Isma‘il stayed at the Élysée Palace, where, as *Le Moniteur universel* reported, the Ottoman Sultan was accommodated during his visit to the Exposition Universelle.⁴¹ A number of celebrations were held in the Khedive’s honor, including lunch with the Empress at the Grand Trianon in Versailles (fig. 22), then a dinner at St. Cloud—together with the Emperor and forty-five other guests, followed by a comedy by Ponsard: *Horace and Lydia*, and fireworks in the park, which was open to the public.⁴² But the French, careful to appease the Ottomans, announced that the Empress would first visit the Sultan in Turkey before attending the canal opening in Egypt.⁴³

In London, Isma‘il was going to stay at Buckingham palace, as *L’Universel* reported.⁴⁴ The Porte objected to the British Ambassador, who replied that this gesture was a “simple courtesy” in return of the welcome given to the Prince and Princess of Wales when they had visited to Egypt in February 1869, and such a gesture does not have any implication that the

⁴⁰ « Dans les cercles diplomatiques on raconte des scènes asses vives qui, à propos de la réception du vice-roi à la cour de Vienne, ont eu lieu entre l’ambassadeur turc, M. Haydar Effendi, et le comte de Beust [...] a proteste avec énergie contre l’atteinte qu’on le porterait aux droits du sultan en traitant en souverain un de ses vassaux [...] M. de Beust ne s’est résigné à s’en tenir au cérémonial officiel, que sur l’intervention énergique de l’ambassadeur de France. Enfin le vice-roi d’Égypte n’a été reçu par l’empereur qu’en présence de l’ambassadeur de Turquie ». “Lettres de Vienne,” *L’Univers* (16 June [1869]), repr. in *ibid.*, 84.

⁴¹ Morel, “Le vice-roi d’Égypte à l’Élysée-Napoléon,” *Le Moniteur universel* (16 June [1869]), repr. in *ibid.*, 26.

⁴² M.V., “Les Fêtes de Saint Cloud et de Versailles en l’honneur du Vice-Roi,” *Le Monde illustré* (17 July 1869), 38-39.

⁴³ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 318.

⁴⁴ *L’Universel* (5 June [1869]), repr. in de la Teillais, *Le voyage de Son Altesse le vice-roi d’Égypte*, 92.

khedive is “an independent sovereign” nor that the British government is ignoring the rights of the Sultan.⁴⁵

It was not only a matter of etiquette that infuriated the Ottoman government. Rather, they objected to the fact that Isma‘il traveled to invite the European sovereigns without their prior knowledge, and asserted that the Sultan should have been the first to be invited to the inauguration, and that the invitations should have gone out in his name.⁴⁶ On 2 September 1869, a *firman* (decree) was issued restricting some of Isma‘il’s power, a matter that he would deal with later, so as not to cast a cloud over the inaugural ceremonies that were about to begin.⁴⁷

Prelude to the Official Inauguration: Cairo and Upper Egypt

Among the nine hundred guests who attended the official inauguration, one hundred (mostly doctors, scientists, writers, journalists, and artists) were invited to Egypt a month before the event. The majority departed for Egypt from Marseille, where just two months before, the huge mural *Gateway to the Orient* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille) by Puvis de Chavannes (1824-98) had been inaugurated to celebrate the imminent completion of the Suez Canal, a feat that would make Marseille become the “locus bordering the Indies and the premium commercial port in the world” (fig. 23).⁴⁸ On the 9th of October, passengers boarded the *Mæris*, which

⁴⁵ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 318.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 319.

⁴⁷ Among the conditions stipulated in the *firman* were that all foreign loans had to be approved by the Ottoman government and annual budgets had to be submitted to the Sultan. The *firman* was revoked in 1873. On the Turkish-Egyptian conflict, see *ibid.*, 309-430.

⁴⁸ « Marseille deviendra le principal aboutissant des Indes et le premier entrepôt commercial du monde ». Sébastien Bertaut, “Marseille d’hier, d’aujourd’hui, de demain,” conférence faite à l’Académie de Marseille (2 June 1867), 14-16. Quoted and translated in *Pierre Puvis De Chavannes* by Aimée Brown Price, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 138, and 139 n10. For information on the mural, see *ibid.*, 138-39, 142, and 143-46.

according to Taglioni, was one of the most beautiful cruise ships of the Messageries Impériales.⁴⁹ Among the passengers, was Alfred-Henri Darjou (1832-74), the painter and draftsman, who was commissioned by *Le Monde illustré* to represent the inauguration.⁵⁰ His first illustration for the journal was of the invitees on the ship's deck, and depicted Gautier, Blanc (1813-82), Guillaume (1822-1905), Gérôme (1824-1904), and Darjou himself, together with Nubar Pasha and his wife (fig. 24).

A program was carefully prepared to expose the invitees to Egypt's ancient glorious past and modernization. An itinerary of the five-night stay in Cairo and the twenty-four-day Nile River cruise in Upper Egypt, written by Mariette, and printed by order of the Khedive was given to each guest.⁵¹ Guests were treated luxuriously, to the extent, that the journalist and writer, Florian Pharaon featured in his book a copy of the lavish meal plan for the entire visit that was presented to the guests—including the choice of wines accompanying lunch and dinner.⁵²

⁴⁹ Taglioni, *Deux mois en Égypte*, 3-4. For a list of invitees on board the *Mæris*, see pages 5-7. Besides the *Mæris*, there were two other ships to transport the invitees, the *Said* and *Aréthuse*.

⁵⁰ Beside illustrations in *Le Monde illustré*, Darjou's drawings of Egypt's monuments and people, as well as the canal inauguration were assembled in an album; see Elisabeth Kashey, *Empress Eugenie's State Visit to the Opening of the Suez Canal, 1869* (New York, 1988). Darjou also illustrated a book by Florian Pharaon, *Le Caire et la Haute-Egypte. Dessins d'A. Darjou* (Paris : E. Dentu, 1872).

⁵¹ *Itinéraire des invites aux fêtes d'inauguration du canal de Suez qui séjournent au Caire et font le voyage du Nil, publié par ordre de S.A. le khédive* (Le Caire Alexandrie, Moures, octobre 1869)—no author's name. A second edition appeared in the name of Mariette under the title *Itinéraire de la Haute Egypte comprenant une description des monuments antiques des rives du Nil entre le Caire et la première cataracte* (Alexandrie, Moures, 1872), in which the chronological 29-day itinerary was replaced with a geographical description of the monuments and an introduction of the country's history. A third edition followed in 1880 under the same title (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880). An English translation was published at Mariette's request, titled *The Monuments of Upper Egypt, A Translation of the "Itinéraire de la haute Égypte," of A. Mariette-Bey, by Alphonse Mariette* (1877).

⁵² Pharaon, *Le Caire et la Haute-Egypte*, 4.

In Cairo, guests stayed in different city hotels “based on their status,” said Douin.⁵³ A large group was accommodated at the Shepherds Hotel in Azbakiyya, the quarter that, the art critic Charles Blanc wrote, had been recently “Haussmannized.”⁵⁴ Although Isma‘il undertook large public works in the first years of his reign, it was after his visit to Paris in 1867, when he met Baron Haussmann that he decided to renovate the Egyptian capital following the model of Paris.⁵⁵ Isma‘il had a passion for embellishing Cairo; he said, “everyone has a mania for something—mine is for stone and mortar.” In Azbakiyya, the major changes made between 1867 and 1869 included a park modeled after the Parc Monceau (partially completed at the time of the Suez Canal opening), hard-surfaced streets, radiating street gaslights, a theater, a circus, and an opera house (that was designed after La Scala in Milan).⁵⁶ But Cairo’s modern quarters did not captivate the Europeans as did the city’s natives, its bazaar, the Islamic monuments, the Tree of the Virgin (where it is said the Holy Family rested after their flight into Egypt), Coptic churches, and the Bulaq Museum of Antiquities. As Reid noted, “Europeans came to Cairo not for Paris but for the Arabian Nights of their imagination.”⁵⁷ Gautier had echoed that same sentiment, saying that based on accounts from recent travelers to Cairo, he was not expecting to see the Azbakiyya that Prosper Marilhat (1811-47) had painted in 1833 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg). But, he added, “The trees in the square masked the new constructions, the theaters and that of the

⁵³ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 439.

⁵⁴ Charles Blanc, *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte: observations sur les arts égyptien et arabe*. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1876), 30.

⁵⁵ Volait, “Making Cairo Modern,” 2.

⁵⁶ The Azbakiyya park was officially inaugurated in 1872. Luisa Limido, *L'art des jardins sous le Second Empire : Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps, 1824-1873* (Seyssel : Champs Vallon, 2002), 209.

⁵⁷ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs ?*, 217.

Italian Opera and the Comédie-Française, and in this way, our dream was not too much disturbed.”⁵⁸

Numerous events were held in Cairo. Auguste Marc, director of *L'Illustration*, recounted the successful evening of 16 October at the Circus—designed by the German architect, Julius Franz (1831-1915)—but noted that the attention of the Europeans was not on the performers of the French troupe, but rather on another spectacle, “the women of his [Isma‘il’s] palace [...] seated in “the immense box with golden lattice that was built for the harem,” (fig. 25).⁵⁹ The art critic, Charles Blanc, wrote of Isma‘il’s meeting with the French delegation on 18 October, commenting that he “spoke like an agriculturalist and a consummate industrialist, with perfect knowledge of the immense resources that can be offered by such a fertile country as Egypt.”⁶⁰ Later that evening, Isma‘il held a grand ball at Kasr-El-Nil palace, which, as Douin wrote, was a totally Parisian evening, disappointing to those expecting a scene from “One Thousand and One Nights.”⁶¹ The poet and novelist, Louise Colet, lamented having to watch Alfred Musset’s *Un Caprice*—in Egypt.⁶²

On the 22nd of October, the guests left for Upper Egypt on four sailing ships and three *dahabiyas* (river boats with cabins). According to Pharaon, the French elite—including Blanc,

⁵⁸ « Les arbres du square nous masquaient les constructions nouvelles, les théâtres du Cirque, de l'Opéra-Italien et de la Comédie-Française, et de cette façon notre rêve n'était pas trop dérangé ». Théophile Gautier, *L'Orient*, vol. 2, (Paris, G. Charpentier, 1877), 191.

⁵⁹ « [L]es femmes de son palais [...] une loge immense avec un treillis doré pour le service du harem ». A.M., “Les fêtes de Suez,” *L'Illustration* (6 November 1869), 291. On Julius Franz, see Elke Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz, “Julius Franz-Pasha’s *Die Baukunst des Islam* (Islamic architecture) of 1887 as part of the *Manual of Architecture, Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 2013): <https://journals.openedition.org/inha/4853> (Accessed 8 August 2018).

⁶⁰ « Il a parlé comme un agriculteur et comme un industriel consommé, sachant à merveille les immenses ressources que peut offrir un pays aussi fertile que l’Égypte ». Blanc, *Voyage de la Haute- Égypte*, 44.

⁶¹ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 440.

⁶² Louise Colet, *Les pays lumineux : voyage en Orient* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1879), 127.

Desplaces, Gérôme, Darjou, and Fromentin (1820-76), together with the distinguished Doctors Broca and Isambert, and some Spanish invitees, boarded the splendid ship *Beheira*.⁶³ Gautier stayed behind and also missed the official inauguration, because he had broken his arm on the *Moeris*. Attributing the incident to the evil eye, he wrote (using the first-person plural, that it fulfilled “our premonition” of paying “our debt to the jealous type.”⁶⁴

Meanwhile, Empress Eugénie arrived in Cairo where she spent a few nights at the magnificent Moorish style Gezira Palace (constructed between 1863 and 1868, today the Cairo Marriott Hotel, fig. 26).⁶⁵ Designed by Julius Franz and later completed by his compatriot Carl von Diebitsch (1819-69), the palace was surrounded by a huge park, designed by Pierre Barillet-Deschamps (1824-72), former Chief Gardener of Paris, because the Khedive wanted to create a marvel for Eugénie (fig. 27).⁶⁶ Henri Vigne of *L'Illustration*, described the interior luxuries of the palace, including her bedroom decorated in the Louis XV style, with a silver bust of the Emperor and a silver statuette of the Imperial prince that the Khedive had ordered (fig. 28).⁶⁷

The Empress joined the touring group in Upper Egypt on 26 October. The Khedive's son, Prince Hussein, and Mariette Bey accompanied her,⁶⁸ as well as the artist, Théodore Frère (1814-88), from whom she had commissioned a series of watercolors of her Egyptian sojourn

⁶³ Pharaon, *Le Caire et la Haute-Egypte*, 13-14.

⁶⁴ « Notre pressentiment était réalisé : nous avons payé notre dette au sort jaloux ». Gautier, *L'Orient*, vol. 2, 128-29.

⁶⁵ On Empress Eugénie's voyage to Egypt, which was preceded by stops in Italy, Greece and Ottoman Turkey, see Félix Ribeyre, *Voyage de sa Majesté l'Impératrice en Corse et en Orient* (Paris : Eugène Pick éditeur, 1870).

⁶⁶ On Carl von Diebitsch, see, Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, *A fashionable style: Carl Von Diebitsch und das maurische revival* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2017); on Barillet-Deschamps, see Alix Wilkinson, “Gardens in Cairo Designed by Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps,” *Garden History*, 38, 1 (Summer 2010), 124-49.

⁶⁷ Henri Vigne, “L’Inauguration de L’isthme de Suez,” *L'Illustration* (27 November 1869), 344.

⁶⁸ Felix Ribyere, *Voyage de sa Majesté l'Impératrice en Corse et en Orient* (Paris, Eugène Pick éditeur, 1870), 188.

(Association du souvenir de Ferdinand de Lesseps et du Canal de Suez, Paris). Best known for his picturesque views of the Middle East, Frère had a studio in Cairo and received the title of Bey from the Egyptian government.⁶⁹

The voyage to Upper Egypt received wide coverage in the press. *Le Monde illustré* dedicated the largest portion of its inauguration coverage to that trip with eleven illustrations including the different ethnic “types”, the various temples, and the lunch that was held for the invitees at the Ramesseum—funerary temple of Ramses II (1279-13 BC)—at Thebes (fig. 29).⁷⁰ The voyage was also the subject of two books: *Le Caire et la Haute-Egypte* by Pharaon (1872), and *Voyage de la Haute-Égypte: observations sur les arts égyptien et arabe* (1876) by Blanc.

Neither Eugénie nor the guests on the Nile cruise attended the coveted 1st of November opening of the Cairo Opera House—designed by the Italian architect Pietro Avoscani (1816-91). The evening there began with a cantata composed in honor of the Khedive by Prince Stanislas Poniatowski. Eight singers stood behind a bust of Isma‘il placed in the center of the stage, dressed in costumes allegorically representing Justice, Mercy, Fame, Music, History, Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. Giuseppe Verdi’s *Rigoletto* was performed afterwards. *Aida*, which Isma‘il had hoped to present, was not ready—it premiered later on 24 December 1871. The curtains that night, according to *The New York Times*, were painted with “too much of a French fantasy,” one of them depicting scenes from Egypt’s ancient past: “the Pyramids, the Sphinx, an obelisk and [...] temples,” its present: “the Nile and productive powers,” and its

⁶⁹ Frère’s name does not appear in Carré’s list of French artists invited to the inauguration. Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, vol. 2, 2 and 360. For information on Frère, see Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers* (Paris: ACR Editions, 1994), 90-93.

⁷⁰ For coverage and images of the trip to Upper Egypt, see *Le Monde illustré* (27 November 1869), 340-42, 344, 345; (4 December 1869), 357-58, 360, 264; and 11 December, 1869), 372-74.

future potential: “girls in modern costume [...] clustered about a telegraph machine.”⁷¹ As we have seen in the previous chapter, this representation characterizing Egypt as heir to the glorious Pharaonic civilization and as a modern civilized state was also expressed at the Paris Exposition in 1867. Isma‘il restated this during his meeting with the German delegation in Cairo, saying: “you will see the monuments of ancient Egypt, and then the modern work, the Suez Canal that was happily achieved under my reign”⁷²—basically erasing any links to the Ottomans.

The Inauguration Ceremonies from Port Sa‘id to Isma‘ilia

On 16 November, everyone assembled in Port Sa‘id (the city founded in 1859, and named after Sa‘id Pasha). Isma‘il had already arrived on his yacht, *El Mahrusa* to welcome the monarchs, princes, and distinguished visitors from different parts of the world. Among the European royals were Empress Eugénie, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria and Hungary, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, and Prince Henry (Hendrik) of the Netherlands. Prince Abd-el-Kader (the Algerian political and religious leader) was also present, but most of the Muslim sovereigns were not invited. Isma‘il wrote to Nubar Pasha that although he wanted to invite the Moroccan Sultan, Persian Shah, and the Tunisian Bey, he only had eight palaces for the princes and kings who “wished to honor” him on the occasion of the canal opening.⁷³

⁷¹ Adam Mestyan, “‘A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement,’ Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892” (PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2011), 138-39. For article, see, WARD, “The Great Canal,” *New York Times* (4 December 1869): <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1869/12/04/79345722.pdf> (Accessed 20 January 2018).

⁷² « Vous verrez [...] les monuments de l'ancienne Égypte d'abord, et ensuite l'œuvre moderne, le canal de Suez, qui s'est heureusement achevée sous mon règne ». Taglioni, *Deux mois en Égypte*, 54.

⁷³ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 4.

Noticeably absent were the Ottoman Sultan ‘Abdul‘aziz and the British monarch and heir, Queen Victoria (r.1837-1901) and her heir, the Prince of Wales.⁷⁴

The French Imperial yacht the *Eagle* (*Aigle*) led a group of eighty ships that sailed by cheering crowds on the shore, a scene that prompted Eugénie to write “in my life, I have never seen anything so beautiful”.⁷⁵ In the afternoon, the religious ceremonies began, which Ernest Desplaces of the *Journal de L’Union des Deux Mers* praised as a “noble and generous gesture by the Khedive who wished to symbolize the union and fraternity of men before God without distinctions of culture.”⁷⁶

Three wooden pavilions were erected on Eugénie Avenue, the largest for the Khedive and his illustrious guests, and the other two for the Christian and Muslim services. They were decorated with flowers and flags of the participating countries, and on the Christian sanctuary was a Jerusalem cross, and on the Muslim pulpit an inscription from the Qur‘an as well as a golden crescent.⁷⁷ *Le National* reported that the *ulemas* (Muslim scholars) began with a simple and short ceremony, followed by the [Coptic] Bishop of Alexandria, assisted by other priests and monks, then a blessing by Monseigneur Bauer, Eugénie’s confessor.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ The Prince and Princess of Wales had visited the Suez Canal in March 1869. For coverage of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to the Suez, see *Illustrated London News* (17 April 17 1869), 392-93.

⁷⁵ « De ma vie, je n'ai rien vu de plus beau ! ». Ernest Desplaces, “Inauguration du Canal Maritime de Suez,” 422. For the ships that took part in the parade, see Jules Charles-Roux, *L’Isthme et le canal de Suez, historique-état actuel*, I (Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1901), 395-96.

⁷⁶ « C’était un noble et genreuse inspiration du Khédive voulant symboliser par l’union des hommes et leur fraternité devant Dieu, sans distinctions de cultes ». E. Desplaces, “Inauguration du Canal Maritime de Suez,” *Journal de L’Union des Deux Mers* (15-18 December 1869), 423 ; quoted also in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 453.

⁷⁷ “Opening of the Suez Canal,” *Illustrated London News* (11 December 1869), 598.

⁷⁸ Jules Colombel, *Le National* (2 December 1869), cited in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 454.

The blessing of the canal became an iconic image of the inauguration capturing the grand moment, which Desplaces noted that “for the first time the Orient witnessed this concurrence of faith to celebrate and bless together a great reality and a great work.”⁷⁹ It also illustrates the “universal rendezvous” that *L’Illustration* described of “Levantines, Europeans, Arabs, Turks, Jews, French, English, Italian, German [...] where a pell-mell of languages, costumes, and groups produced a superb picturesque commotion to see.”⁸⁰

Édouard Riou (1833-1900), the painter, illustrator, and journalist, executed two views of the religious ceremony (Figs. 30 and 31). Best known for his newspaper and book illustrations, Riou was hired by the Suez Canal Company and went to Egypt in March 1869 to record the canal construction. He returned as a guest for the opening, writing and producing forty-six images of the festivities and other picturesque Egyptian views.⁸¹ A number of his watercolors appeared in the commemorative album commissioned by de Lesseps for the Empress, *L’Album de l’impératrice: Voyage pittoresque à travers l’isthme de Suez* (at the Association du Souvenir de Ferdinand de Lesseps et du Canal de Suez, Paris), which together with another twenty-five were later published in two volumes: one by Gustave Nicole, *Voyage des souverains: inauguration du Canal du Suez*, and the second by Marius Fontane, *Voyage pittoresque à travers l’isthme de Suez*.⁸² According to a recent bookseller’s sale entry, 500 copies of the latter book

⁷⁹ « [C]’était pour la première fois se voyait en Orient ce concours des croyances pour célébrer et bénir en commun un grand fait et une grande œuvre ». Desplaces, ‘Inauguration du Canal Maritime de Suez’, 423 ; quoted also in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 453.

⁸⁰ « [L]evantins, Européens, Égyptiens, Arabes, Turcs, Juifs, Français, Anglais, Italiens, Allemands ; un rendez-vous universel, où le pêle-mêle des langages, des costumes et des groupes produisait un tumulte pittoresque et superbe à voir ! ». Henri Vigne, “Inauguration du Canal de Suez,” *L’Illustration* (11 December 1869), 376.

⁸¹ Édouard Riou also wrote and illustrated the second section of *Le canal maritime de Suez, Itinéraire pittoresque* (Paris : Aux Bureaux de l’Illustration, 1869), 103-90.

⁸² The watercolors of the album and another twenty-five were later published in two volumes: Gustave Nicole, *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains; aquarelles d’après nature et portraits par Riou, peintre de*

were printed, with 200 reserved for the Khedive. However, the Khedive objected to the preface, which credited the canal construction to de Lesseps, and he ordered its removal, as well as de Lesseps's portrait frontispiece, and the final sections of the book including plates twenty-one to twenty-five.⁸³

Named "painter of his highness the Khedive," Riou executed three huge oil paintings of the inauguration (two after the religious ceremony watercolors in the album, dates unknown), which hang in the Suez Canal room at Abdeen palace (constructed between 1863 and 1872).⁸⁴ Another large painting of the religious ceremony is owned by the Association du souvenir de Ferdinand de Lesseps et du Canal de Suez in Paris.

In his image of the canal blessing, Riou uses a distant viewpoint to depict the three pavilions as well as the large eclectic group of people attending the ceremony (see fig. 30). Here, Riou highlights both the Royal and Christian pavilions together with their surmounts, with only a partial view of the Muslim one, choosing the moment when Monseigneur Bauer comes forward to deliver his address. While the image may well reflect the artist's leaning to France and the Christian faith, it may be also be that he was appeasing Eugénie, who was known for her piety, and the work was essentially commissioned for her.

Son Altesse le Khédive; lithographiés par E. Cicéri, G. Janet, Lafosse, Sirouy, Morel-Fatio, J. Didier, Sorieu, F. Benoit, etc. etc., I (Paris, Imprimerie Lemerchier et cie, 1869); and Marius Fontane, *Voyage pittoresque à travers l'isthme de Suez, vingt-cinq grandes aquarelles d'après nature par Riou, lithographiées en couleur par M. Eugène Cicéri, II* (Paris : 1869). On Riou, see Guy Gauthier, Édouard Riou, illustrateur (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), and Bräuner, "Les représentations du Canal de Suez (XVe-XXe siècles)," 343-58.

⁸³ This information is from a recent bookseller's entry (located in the United Kingdom). The book on sale is listed as being one of the Khedive's 200 copies. Printed entry obtained from the Bob Brier collection. The book I consulted from the Getty Museum (which is also published online) is the same as the latter. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125014407387/page/n8 I have not seen the unabridged book copy.

⁸⁴ One painting showing the same view of the religious ceremony in the album is illustrated in the book: *Abdeen Palace: The Jewel of 19th Century Cairo* (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2007), 50-54. During my two research trips, the palace was closed for renovation.

Riou's fellow countryman, Darjou illustrated the religious ceremony in *Le Monde illustré* on 4 December 1869 (fig. 32). In it, he shows the three stands with the large crowds, and like Riou, the emphasis in his illustration is on the Christian stand as well as the advent of Monseigneur a few steps below the altar to deliver his address.

William Simpson (1823-99), the Scottish war artist, also depicted the blessing of the canal in the *Illustrated London News* on 11 December 1869 (fig. 33). Simpson first visited Egypt at the end of 1868 as a correspondent for the British journal to record the progress of the "new route to India," and the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Egypt in March 1869.⁸⁵ Interestingly, after his visit, Simpson had this to say about Britain's policy towards the Suez Canal:

It had been the traditional policy of British statesmen to oppose French influence in Egypt. So, of course, the Canal was pooh-poohed. Not a share was sold in Britain [...] There was great surprise therefore when letters from Russell and Fowler, as well as my pictures, announced that the Canal was a success, that it was nearly completed, that the sand of the desert was a myth, and that the work when finished would be of the greatest advantage to Britain. From this explanation, it will be seen that, so far as Britain was concerned, our visit had almost a historical importance.⁸⁶

Simpson returned for the inauguration (as an invitee) and sent the *Illustrated London News* a series of illustrations, including the religious ceremony. Like Riou and Darjou, Simpson draws the viewer's attention to the large international crowd and to the three stands. However, whereas the two other artists showed a frontal view of the Christian pavilion with its Jerusalem Cross and only a partial side view of the Muslim pulpit, Simpson distinctly portrayed both with

⁸⁵ William Simpson, *Autobiography of William Simpson, R. I. (Crimean Simpson)* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), 203.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 204-05.

their symbols. His illustration thus reflects what the author of the article observed “the grand pavilion for the visitors fronted both the others, so as to allow everyone to choose impartially between Christianity and Islam.”⁸⁷

On the 17th of November, the ships proceeded to the city of Isma‘ilia (founded in 1863, and named after Isma‘il). *Le Monde illustré* reported, “When the flotilla [...] arrived [...] at Lake Timsah, three ships arriving from Suez [...] greeted them with their artillery [...] an indescribable moment (fig. 34). The two seas met, the two ports gave each other their hands.”⁸⁸ That same evening a celebration also took place in Paris. The Comédie-Française, wrote *L’Economiste*, performed a cantata by Henri de Bornier, in which “The blonde Europe” and “the brunette Asia,” paid homage “to the heroic work completed that day, to the now immortal character who had conceived and executed it [...] to the enlightened Prince who had wanted to make it the glory of his reign, and to the Empress who [...] presided at the inauguration.”⁸⁹

In Isma‘ilia, some European guests stayed on one of the ships, others on a *dahabiya*, including the painter and author Eugène Fromentin, who wrote that its “unheard of luxury” made him feel “like a king.”⁹⁰ He took only a notebook to Egypt (no brushes or palette), because he knew he would not have time to paint, a decision also made by Gérôme, de Tournemine (1812-

⁸⁷ “Opening of the Suez Canal,” 598.

⁸⁸ « [A]u moment où la flotille [...] arrivait [...] au lac Timsah, trois avisos arrivaient de Suez à leur rencontre [...] les ont salués de leur artillerie [...] ce moment est indescriptible. Les deux mers se rencontraient, les deux ports se donnaient la main ». M.V., “Egypte,” *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869), 374.

⁸⁹ « [J]usqu’au à l’œuvre héroïque terminée en ce jour, jusqu’au personnage désormais immortel qui l’avait conçue et exécutée [...] au Prince éclairé qui en avait voulu faire la gloire de son règne, et à l’Impératrice qui [...] présidait à l’inauguration ». *L’Economiste* (20 November [1869]), cited in “L’Inauguration du Canal Fêtée au Théâtre-Français,” *Journal de l’Union des Deux-Mers* (1 December 1869), 411.

⁹⁰ « Luxe inouï [...] Dans ma dahabieh, je suis comme un roi ». Louis Gonse, *Eugène Fromentin, peintre et écrivain: ouvrage augmenté d’un voyage en et d’autres notes et morceaux inéd. de Fromentin* (Paris : Quantin, 1881), 313.

72), and Berchère (1819-91).⁹¹ Other European attendees were accommodated in tents—each holding three persons.⁹² Tents were also erected for the indigenous population and for chiefs of Arab and African tribes—where some invitees visited and admired the local tribal chiefs” in their “whites robes,” who offered them “chibouk,” coffee, sherbets [...] with perfect grace.”⁹³ Food and drink in the cafés and restaurants were free, compliments of the Khedive.

Both the sovereigns and the people took part in the festivities. “There was a merger between royalty and the people, a fusion of the East and the West,” wrote Douin.⁹⁴ On 18 November, royals embarked on a promenade that began from the Khedive’s palace, which was built in six months at the other end of Muhammad ‘Ali Avenue. Riou recorded the scene showing the royals in their carriages. Empress Eugénie and the Emperor of Austria were in the leading carriage, followed by the Crown Prince of Prussia and the Princess Amalia, from the Netherlands, as well as the Viceroy, driving his own phaeton, as a couple of *says* are running in front, as the foreign and the indigenous crowds gathered to watch to the procession (fig. 35).

The celebrations included bands, music, decoration, and protocol that recalled European festivities, as did some of the lavish balls and banquets. However, an air of “One Thousand and One Nights” prevailed with the local festive entertainment, satisfying European fantasy of the

⁹¹ Berchère executed an album of drawing and maps of the first phase of construction of the canal, commissioned from de Lesseps, who then presented it to Napoleon III (destroyed when the Tuileries palace burned down in 1871). The artist also published *Le Désert de Suez: cinq mois dans l'Isthme* (1863), comprising the letters he wrote to Fromentin during his trip to Egypt from November 1861 to April 1862 reprinted in Berchère, *Le Désert De Suez*.

⁹² Tents were distributed in sections, and each one had a commissioner, who had a registry of the occupants in his section. Taglioni, *Deux mois en Égypte*, 261.

⁹³ Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 464.

⁹⁴ « C’est la mêlée des souverains et des peuples, la fusion de l’Orient et de l’Occident ». Ibid., 460.

Orient. Jules Charles Roux,⁹⁵ wrote about Isma'il's "grandiose and original idea" of inviting the different tribes of his kingdom, who came "with their wives, horses, camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, sheep, gazelles [...] men, of all colors and all ranks, *ulemas*, dervishes and howlers, *almées*, sheikhs, *fallahs* and Bedouins, presenting a unique spectacle."⁹⁶ A *fantasia* (an equestrian display performed during festivals and celebrations), was also held at the request of the Khedive that *Le Monde illustré* described (see fig. 34):

A thousand elite horsemen took part in this festival; they had covered their horses with their golden saddles, and covered with sumptuous harnesses their most beautiful dromedaries. During two hours, these different groups, intermingled according to the calculated whims of the *fantasia*, carried away by this feverish ardor of the Arab handling weapons and wielding the banners of the tribe, still excited by the sound of the musketry, by the intoxication of the simulated struggle, by the twirling of the horses, presenting the most brilliant and varied spectacle.⁹⁷

Yet, Fromentin, was not as impressed by this *fantasia*. He complained that it was a "Mediocre show [...] not enough space, the horses gallop badly [...] The riders are armed, and, except for a few sheikhs, poorly assembled and equipped; it does not compare to the military

⁹⁵ Roux was the Vice President of the Suez Canal Company from 1897 until his death in 1918. Jules Charles-Roux, *L'Isthme et le canal de Suez, historique-état actuel*. 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1901).

⁹⁶ « [É]chantillons des diverses tribus de son royaume, qui avait répondu à son appel en accourant en foule avec leurs femmes, leur chevaux, chameaux, dromadaires, buffes, moutons, gazelles ; et le fourmillement de tous ces êtres, de ces hommes, de toutes couleurs et de tous rangs, ulémas, derviches tourment et hurleurs, almées, cheiks, présentent un spectacle unique, fellahs et bédouins, présentant un spectacle unique ». Jules Charles-Roux, *L'Isthme et le canal de Suez, historique-état actuel*. Vol. 1 (Paris : Hachette & Cie, 1901), 398.

⁹⁷ « Un millier de cavaliers d'élite prirent part à cette fête ; ils avaient revêtu leurs chevaux des leurs selles dorées, et couvert de somptueux harnais leurs plus beaux dromadaires. Pendant deux heures, ces différents groupes, entremêlés suivant les caprices calculés de la fantasia, emportés par cette ardeur fébrile de l'Arabe qui manie les armes et brandit les étendards de la tribu, excités encore par le bruit de la mousqueterie, par l'enivrement de la lutte simulée, par le tournoiement des chevaux, offrirent le spectacle le plus brillant et le plus varié ». M. V., "Égypte," *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869), 374.

luxury, the magnitude and the overall beauty of Saharan *fantasias* [...] The most handsome horsemen are particularly from the Sinai [desert inhabited mostly by Bedouin tribes].⁹⁸

On the evening of the 18th of November, Isma‘il held a lavish ball at his palace that was attended by over four thousand people. A large tent was erected in the garden, but a separate room decorated to resemble a tropical garden was reserved for the royals, ministers, and ambassadors to dine (fig. 36). A lavish menu was prepared with symbolic dish titles, such as “Fish of the Union of the Two Seas.”⁹⁹ That evening, Eugénie presented de Lesseps with the Grand Legion of Honor, and Isma‘il awarded him the Grand Cross of Osmania (decoration of the Imperial Turkish order).¹⁰⁰ The Empress had also offered de Lesseps a commemorative silver vase in the shape of a ship by Auguste and Louis Fannièr—known as the Fannièr Frères (1869, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, fig. 37). That symbolic *nef*, Countess Drohojowska wrote, expressed “the gratitude and admiration of France for the one responsible for the eternal memory of our national genius for the piercing of the Suez Canal and making it a French work.”¹⁰¹

The celebration that evening was unprecedented. Auguste Nicoullaud, editor of the journal *Le Nil* wrote:

The greatest sovereigns or their most august representatives, the admirals and army commanders, the most illustrious engineers and scholars [...] humble laborers [...] and soldiers of all grades of

⁹⁸ « Spectacle médiocre [...] l'espace manque, les chevaux galopent mal [...] n'ont pas de quoi prendre du champ. Les cavaliers sont armés, et, sauf quelques cheikhs, assez pauvrement montés et équipés ; cela n'approche pas du luxe militaire, de l'ampleur et de la beauté d'ensemble des fantasias sahariennes [...] Les plus beaux cavaliers sont pour la plupart des Sinaïtes [...] ». Gonse, *Eugène Fromentin*, 314-15.

⁹⁹ The menu is cited in Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, 369-70.

¹⁰⁰ Vigne, “Inauguration du Canal de Suez,” 377.

¹⁰¹ « [L]a reconnaissance et admiration de la France pour celui qui attache l'impérissable mémoire de notre génie national au percement de l'isthme de Suez et en a fait une œuvre française ». Drohojowska, *L'Égypte et le canal de Suez*, 181. For the ship's description, see Ibid., 182; and Alison McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Farnham, Surrey, UK England: Ashgate, 2011), 258-59.

civilization. There were also the most aristocratic women, the most common, from the sovereign wearing the highest crown of France, to the wives of employees, and cosmopolitan laborers. This reunion was never seen before and will never be seen again.¹⁰²

After the festivities at Isma‘ilia, the ships continued the journey arriving at Suez on 20 November “amidst universal acclaim.”¹⁰³ That same afternoon, the Khedive, and some of his guests headed back to Cairo. The cost of the opening, Rifaat Bey wrote “exceeded a million pounds.”¹⁰⁴

The next day, de Lesseps unveiled a bronze bust of Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn, at Port Tawfik—today Port Suez (fig. 38). Empress Eugénie, who had stayed behind, however, missed the ceremony, as she arrived late from her visit to the Fountain of Moses. De Lesseps had commissioned the bust from Gabriel Vital-Dubray (1813-92) to pay tribute to the British naval officer who pioneered the postal overland route from Europe to India.¹⁰⁵ Riou, wrote in *L'Illustration*, that de Lesseps honored a man who was “forgotten by the British,” a gesture which showed “his humanitarian justice,” and every time British navigators pass by this

¹⁰² « [L]es plus grands souverains ou leurs plus augustes représentants, les amiraux et les commandants d'armée, les plus illustres ingénieurs et savants, [...] les ouvriers les plus humbles ; enfin les soldats de tous grades de la civilisation. Il y avait là des femmes aux noms les plus aristocratiques et les plus roturiers, depuis la souveraine qui porte si haut et si bien le diadème de la France, jusqu'à la femme de l'employé et de l'ouvrier cosmopolite. C'était une réunion qui ne s'est jamais vue et qui ne se reverra jamais ». Auguste Nicoulaud, *Le Nil* (20 November 1869) ; quoted in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 467.

¹⁰³ Vigne, “Inauguration du Canal de Suez,” 377.

¹⁰⁴ Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, 134. According to Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi‘i, the ceremony for the opening of the Suez Canal cost 1,400,000 Egyptian pounds. Al-Rafi‘i, *‘Asr Isma‘il*, vol.1, 99.

¹⁰⁵ For information on Waghorn, see “Waghorn, Thomas (1800-1850),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-c-28397> (Accessed 9 July, 2018).

monument they will be reminded “that M. de Lesseps knew how to embrace one of their [British] celebrities, and henceforth of all the peoples.”¹⁰⁶

In Cairo, the celebrations continued, which Douin described. “On 13 December, a new kind of attraction was offered to the people of Cairo; the balloon, the *Sphinx*, ascended from the Azbakiyya Garden with Mr. Godard, a Parisian aeronaut, and Mr. Poily on board. At first the winds pushed it in the direction of Giza, but then the airship was pulled in the direction of the Fayoum. It was only after passing the last of the pyramids of Dahshur, that the aeronauts, surprised by the coming night, prudently decided to land seven or eight kilometers to the southwest of that pyramid; the trip lasted more than two hours. On 26 December, another balloon, the *Empress*, took to the air with passengers; a lady got on first, and then a native. Nothing in the entire program of celebrations aroused the curiosity of the Egyptians more than this event.”¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

¹⁰⁶ « [P]ourront se dire [...] que M. de Lesseps a su adopter une de leurs gloires, et que désormais toutes les peuples ». Edouard Riou, “L’Isthme de Suez: Itinéraire Pittoresque,” *L’Illustration* (23 December 1869), 410. Waghorn’s bust is illustrated on p. 405.

¹⁰⁷ « Le 13 décembre, une attraction d’un genre nouveau fut offerte à la population du Caire ; le ballon le *Sphinx*, monte Par M. Godard, aéronaute parisien, et par M. Poilay, s’éleva du jardin de l’Esbekieh en ascension libre. Pousse d’abord dans la direction de Gizeh, l’aérostat fut ensuite entraine dans la direction du Fayoum. Ce n’est qu’après avoir dépassé la dernière des pyramides de Dachour que les aéronautes, surpris par la nuit, jugèrent prudent d’atterrir à sept ou huit kilomètres dans le sud-ouest de cette pyramide ; le voyage avait duré plus de deux heures. Le 26 décembre, un autre ballon l’*Impératrice* prit l’air avec des passagers ; une dame d’abord, puis un indigne. Ainsi rien ne manqua, au programme des fêtes, qui fût de nature à piquer la curiosité des Égyptiens ». Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 475.

The visual and written records of the Suez Canal inauguration attest to the triumph of the “great feast of humanity,”¹⁰⁸ which Isma‘il had envisioned and achieved. This was, indeed, a celebration that brought together people from all over the world, with different religions, languages, cultures, and from all walks of life. The strong participation of the Egyptian population not only undergirded his position, as it demonstrated public approval for his leadership, but also reflected a buy-in from the Egyptian population in his modernization efforts. The ceremony was orchestrated as a living tableau in which setting, participants, and their placement were all carefully organized. Every detail was designed to communicate the messages that Isma‘il wished to convey to the world, namely a sovereign and vibrant modern Egypt ready to join the international scene. It was also the first time in the region, where the Muslim and Christian faith concurred to bless and celebrate the opening of the Canal. As he did at the Paris Exposition, Isma‘il shaped and conveyed this image on the global stage, using writers and artists (especially the French) for realizing his goals. This chapter once again highlights that mutual interest was a major aspect of Egyptian-French encounters, yet when these interests collided, each took a firm stand towards their own position.

The triumph of the Suez Canal opening was, however, short-lived. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) was ahead, as was the siege of Paris that ended the Second Empire, and the exile of both the Emperor and Empress. Though de Lesseps was glorified after the inauguration, his work on the new Panama Canal in the 1880s led to his downfall. As for Isma‘il, six years later, the budget deficits led him to sell Egypt’s forty-four percent shares in the Canal Company to

¹⁰⁸ Émile de la Bedolliere, *De Paris à Suez, souvenirs d’un voyage en Égypte* (Paris: Librairie Georges Barba, 1870), 20.

Britain, and before stepping down four years later, give up the fifteen percent net profits. But before then, Isma'il embarked on commemorating his dynasty, and hired French artists to do so.

Chapter 3

Commemorating the Khedivial Dynasty

We are fully convinced that Egypt's happiness depends on its separation from Turkey [...] it is us who will immortalize our name.

Isma'il, April 8, 1867.¹

Introduction

The subject of this chapter is Khedive Isma'il's project of commemorating the khedivial dynasty. After his return from Paris in 1867, Isma'il commissioned the famous French sculptors, Charles Cordier and Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart (1824-96) to create life-size bronze equestrian statues of his father, Ibrahim Pasha (fig. 39) and of his grandfather, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha (fig. 40). After their display at the Paris Salon in 1872, the statues were shipped to Egypt, and were thereafter unveiled in the country's two metropolises: Muhammad 'Ali in Alexandria's Place des Consuls (later Muhammad Ali Square and now Tahrir Square), and Ibrahim in Cairo's Azbakiyya Square (formerly Al Teatero Square, Ibrahim Pasha Square, and now al Opera Square). Both sites—then known as the “European quarters”—symbolized the modernization and urban reform projects that Muhammad 'Ali began and Isma'il continued.

Isma'il was no doubt inspired by equestrian statues he saw in Paris, especially the statues of Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV that belonged to a tradition established by the Bourbon

¹ « Nous sommes tous convaincus que le bonheur de l'Égypte dépend dans sa séparation définitive d'avec la Turquie [...] c'est nous qui immortaliserons notre nom ». Letter from Isma'il to Nubar dated 8 April 1867. Cited in Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol 2, title page.

monarchy as early as the 17th century.² But he also may have admired the two grand equestrian statues by M. Louis Rochet (1813-78) at the La Bourdonnaye entrance of the Exposition, which represented Don Pedro 1st, Emperor of Brazil (unveiled 1862, Praça Tiradentes, Rio de Janeiro), and the other of Charlemagne, King of the Franks and Holy Roman Emperor (1867, plaster, Parvis de Notre-Dame). Whatever his immediate inspiration was, it would seem that Isma'il resolved to pioneer his family's own tradition of royal equestrian statues as an essential part of dynastic symbolism.

Isma'il was the first modern ruler in the Ottoman Empire to initiate figural sculpture, to be displayed in public spaces. In Istanbul, Sultan 'Abdul'aziz had also commissioned the English sculptor Charles Fuller (1830-75) to produce a half-size equestrian statue of himself (1872, Beylerbeyi, Istanbul, fig. 41),³ however, unlike Isma'il, he displayed it privately in his palace. That Isma'il chose to commemorate his family instead of glorifying himself, as the historian Klaus Keiser suggested, may have been intended to define his own position in the dynastic chain of succession.⁴ Although this may have been a factor, I maintain that Isma'il's motives were more likely driven by his determination to consolidate and legitimize the khedivial dynasty. Given that Muhammad 'Ali was the founder of the dynasty, and the one who put Egypt on the path of modernization, obtained the right of hereditary rule over Egypt, and dreamt of building an empire; and that it was his son Ibrahim, the military hero, who achieved major victories and seized territories from the Ottomans,⁵ Isma'il's choice makes sense.

² See June Ellen Hargrove. *The Statues of Paris: An Open-Air Pantheon* (New York: Vendome Press, 1989).

³ Klaus Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), 108-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵ For Ibrahim's major victories, see Ibrahim "The Egyptian Empire, 1805-1885," 198-216.

This chapter brings into focus a little-studied area of Egypt's nineteenth-century public statues. Klaus Kreiser's article "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt 1840-1916" offers a brief scholarly account of the statues commissioned by Isma'il,⁶ and Lesley Lababidi's lively book offers a survey and modern-day images of the statues in *Cairo's Street Stories: Exploring the City's Statues, Squares, Bridges, Gardens, and Sidewalk Cafés*.⁷ While the focus of this chapter is the two royal equestrian statues, I bring into the discussion two other life-size statues that Isma'il had commissioned. They represent two dignitaries in Muhammad 'Ali's service, the French Soliman Pasha al Faransawi (Faransawi meaning the Frenchman), alias Joseph-Anthelme Sève (1788-1860), who established Egypt's modern Europeanized army and training program and became a celebrated general (exhibited Paris Salon, 1874, now in the Military Museum, Cairo, Egypt, fig. 42), and the Albanian Muhammad Lazoghli Bey (19th century?), who was a trusted *kathoda* or deputy (exhibited Paris Salon 1875, Lazoghli Square, Cairo, Egypt, fig. 43).

This chapter draws on archival and published materials in Arabic, French, and English, and uses documents from the Egyptian archives consisting mostly of letters between patrons, intermediaries, and artists.⁸ In studying these documents, I became more aware of the dynamic relationship between individuals whose mutual interests and benefits coalesced—in this case, Egypt and France, and not under the broader and generalized concepts of "East" and "West." Egyptian French encounters in commemorating the khedival dynasty nuances previously held notions about the West's desire to assume a position of power and dominance, or of the East

⁶ Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt," 104-117.

⁷ Lababidi, Lesley Kitchen. *Cairo's Street Stories: Exploring the City's Statues, Squares, Bridges, Gardens, and Sidewalk Cafés* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008).

⁸ Letters between Paris and Cairo in the Egyptian archives are in French and typewritten, some of which do not have dates, or addressee names or senders. I was unable to find any original handwritten letters in the files.

simply mimicking or responding to the West. Instead, it demonstrates an intricate reciprocity between the Egyptian patrons and French artists/architects/bureaucrats—some of the latter becoming transcultural agents. As we will see, artworks were also made under a well-defined system. On the basis of in-depth archival research in Egypt related to the commission of the two statues, as well as contemporary sources, Egyptian as well as European, related to their reception, I intend to show that the Khedive chose a typical Western power symbol—the equestrian statue—in a further step to legitimize his dynasty’s independence from the Ottoman crown more visible. To execute his family’s equestrian statues, Isma‘il hired the most important French artists—who were officially recognized by the French Academy—and at that time France was considered the most superior artistically. While at times he listened to the advice of the French sculptors and committee that was put in place to oversee the commission, the Khedive played an instrumental role in fashioning his family’s monuments. At the same time, in France, the fine art’s circle had their own interests, namely to uphold Paris’s position as the art capital of the world, and of course to seek business opportunities in a country where artistic production—including painting, sculpture, photography—was still mostly in the hands of non-Muslim communities or Europeans.

Between Paris and Cairo

Records show that a number of French sculptors tried to secure the commission of the royal statues in Egypt. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-75) unsuccessfully, bid for the commission of Muhammad ‘Ali’s statue. Firmin Rainbeaux, an *aide-de-camp* of Emperor Napoleon III and an art collector wrote to Isma‘il on 7 December, 1867 that “upon hearing that you intended to

commission a French artist to execute an equestrian statue for your grandfather, he [Carpeaux] “implored me to solicit your favor to obtain this commission [...] M. Carpeaux is one of our leading celebrities, who executed important works commissioned by the Emperor for the Tuileries Palace; and by M. Haussmann for the Opera and various other public monuments.”⁹ Carpeaux did not get the commission. Instead, it went to Jacquemart, who was highly recommended by Count Alfred-Emilién Nieuwerkerke (1811-92), the Dutch sculptor who became Superintendent of Fine Arts in France.

Charles Cordier, eager to obtain work in Egypt, did not need an intermediary. He enjoyed an excellent relationship with Isma‘il after having executed his marble bust in 1866. Therefore, on his second trip to Cairo in 1868 (possibly February-June),¹⁰ he endeavored to secure the commissions for Ibrahim Pasha’s equestrian statue, and a fountain for the Azbakiyya gardens entitled *Egyptian Fountain, Personification of the White Nile, the Blue Nile, and the Nile in the figures of a Nubian Woman, Abyssinian Woman, and Egyptian Peasant Woman* (location unknown, fig. 44).¹¹ The latter project was not realized, but Cordier obtained the commission for Ibrahim’s equestrian statue.

We have no sources confirming the circumstances or the date of the commission for Ibrahim’s equestrian statue. What we know is that Isma‘il chose Cordier to execute his father’s

⁹ « [M]’a prié de solliciter auprès d’Elle, la faveur d’obtenir la commande de cette œuvre. Mr. Carpeaux est une de nos premières célébrités, l’auteur de travaux importants commandés par l’Empereur pour le Palais des Tuileries ; et par M. Haussmann pour l’Opéra et divers monuments publics ». DWQ, “*Magmou‘at Mukatabaat Khasa Bi Inshaa’ Tamatheel Li Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha* (Documents Relating to the Statues of Muhammad ‘Ali and Ibrahim Pasha),” 5013-004151.

¹⁰ Cordier was able to renew the French government’s grant of 30 percent discount on travel. Letters from the administration of maritime service dated 4 December 1866 and 18 January 1868, in Archives Nationales, Paris F21 2285, De Margerie, Papet, Barthe, and Vigli, *Facing the Other*, 141 note 48.

¹¹ A plaster of the unrealized fountain was exhibited in the 1869 Paris Salon, no. 3326. According to Rioux Maillou, it was still in Cordier’s studio in 1875. Ibid., 170, note 237.

equestrian statue. In an undated letter addressed to Nubar Pasha, Isma‘il wrote “My Minister Cherif Pasha must have written directly to you to notify you that it was my absolute resolution that Cordier executes the statue of my illustrious father [...]” He added that he wanted “this project to be examined by a committee from the Academy of Fine Arts in Paris, like other governments do when executing works of art in France.”¹²

By August 1868, the committee was formed and work on the statue had begun. As Cordier reported to Nubar Pasha in his letter, he already had produced two sketches of Ibrahim Pasha’s equestrian statue. Moreover, a special committee that Isma‘il had requested to examine the statue in Paris, comprising of Count de Nieuwerkerke, Théophile Gautier, Paul de S[ain]t. Victor, [Jean-Léon] Gérôme, Muller, [Jean-Antoine] Cordier Bey, and Charles Edmond, had visited his atelier twice to review the equestrian statues and bas-reliefs.¹³ The members of the committee had made the following modifications:

The inscription in Arabic and Turkish characters on a bronze plate, letters embossed—cornice of pedestal wider—base to be elevated, where the water jets will replace the lions [...]

In the equestrian statue the Committee requested that the pose of the horse be modified, this pose if you remember, Excellency, represented the moment the rider urging his mount to spring giving an order. The Commission thought this movement is more appropriate for a colonel rather than a general legislator like the August father of His Highness, she [referring to the Khedive] prefers a quiet horse rider yet with the same movement.¹⁴

¹² « Mon Ministre Cherif Pacha a du vous écrire directement pur vous faire connaitre quelle étaient mes résolutions définitive à l’égard de la statue de Mon illustre père dont l’exécution a été confiée à M. Cordier [...] je désire n’moins que le projet de son œuvre soit soumis à l’examen d’une commission de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts de Paris, tel étant l’usage admis par tous gouvernements qui font exécuter des œuvres d’art en France ». Although the letter is unsigned, the content indicates it is from Isma‘il. It is stamped *non envoyé* (unsent). DWQ, *Magmou‘at Mukatabaat Khasa*, 5013-004151.

¹³ Letter from Charles Cordier to Nubar Pasha dated 3 August 1868. Ibid.

¹⁴ « L’inscription en caractère arabes et Turcs sur une plaque débronze, les lettres en relief—la corniche du piédestal plus ample—un peu plus d’élévation à la base, où des jets d’eau remplaceront ceux que les lions devaient lancer par la gueule, par suite de cette disposition, ces animaux auront un caractère plus mâle—pas de changement dans les bas-reliefs. Dans la statue équestre la Commission a demandé que la pose du cheval soit modifiée, cette pose si vous

Cordier heeded the advice. The statue, suggesting a military theme, portrayed Ibrahim Pasha in Turkish army uniform with a *tarbush*, poised on his horse decorated with the royal emblem of the crescent and five-pointed star,¹⁵ with all four hooves on the ground. His left arm outstretched pointing to further conquests, his right hand holding the reins (see fig. 39). Ibrahim's depiction as a soldier is fitting. As the diplomat and writer Edwin De Leon wrote in 1877, Ibrahim's statue showed him as "every inch a soldier, and a born leader of men on the battlefield."¹⁶

Although there are some similarities between the statue of Ibrahim and that of Louis XIV by Louis-Messidor Petitot (1794-1862)—one of the statues Isma'il might have seen—at Versailles (erected in 1836, fig. 45), a closer model of the horse and rider can be found in the statue of Napoleon I by Charles-Pierre-Victor Pajot (1812-96) at Montreau-Fault-Yonne (erected in 1867, fig. 46). Both Ibrahim and Napoleon I are depicted as the military leaders they were, and both are sitting on well-grounded horses, with their right arms outstretched. The oldest son of Muhammad 'Ali, Ibrahim, had a distinguished military career with major military victories against the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷ The pedestals of both sculptures also have bronze reliefs depicting battle scenes they were involved in. Two reliefs for the pedestal of Ibrahim's statue showed the

vous le rappelez, Excellence, représentait le moment où le cavalier pressant sa monture va s'élancer donnant un ordre. La commission a pensé que ce mouvement convenait plutôt à un colonel qu'à un général législateur comme était l'Auguste père de Son Altesse, elle a préféré un cheval tranquille le cavalier ayant pourtant le même mouvement ». Ibid.

¹⁵ Muhammad 'Ali used the Ottoman red flag with crescent and star, but he made a slight variation, using a five-pointed star instead of the Ottoman six-pointed one.

¹⁶ De Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, 76.

¹⁷ For information on Ibrahim's military career, see Édouard Gouin, *L'Égypte au XIXe siècle, histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim-Pacha, Soliman-Pacha (colonel Sèves)* (Paris : P. Boizard, 1847).

battle at Konya in December 1832 (*The Battle of Konya*, fig. 47), and the other at Acre in May 1832 (*The Taking of Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, fig. 48). Yet, in the end, Isma'il did not use the two reliefs, because of the strong objections from Istanbul. Before the statue was finished, in September 1868, a Turkish newspaper published a description of the statue with the battle scenes on the reliefs¹⁸—sometime that year Cordier displayed in his atelier a half-scale plaster version of the statue and the clay model of one of the reliefs.¹⁹ The *Grand Vizier* or Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire had this message for the Khedive:

Telegraph the Khedive so that he orders the artist to stop the work, or change the subject, and ask his Highness to give me an answer on this matter, because even though Egypt would be independent, the Viceroy should not commit such an insult to his fellow believers.”²⁰

Mindful of balancing his relations with the Ottoman government, Isma'il acquiesced. The reliefs would be installed over eighty years later when Egypt commemorated the centenary of Ibrahim Pasha's death in 1948. According to Lesley Lababidi, it was Cordier's grandson, Jules Cordier who replicated them from a photograph, a claim that is inaccurate.²¹ It was the Egyptian sculptors, Ahmad Osman (1907-70), and Mansour Farag (1910-2000) who executed the reliefs for the celebration of Ibrahim's centenary, which took place on the 10th of November 1948, relying on photographs sent from France—

¹⁸ Kreiser, “Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt,” 107.

¹⁹ Durand-Révilion, Jeanine. *De Carpeaux à Matisse : la sculpture française de 1850 à 1914 dans les musées et les collections publiques du Nord de la France* (Lille : Édition de l'Association des conservateurs de la région Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1982), 142-48, note 67-1a.

²⁰ « [T]élégraphiez au Khédive qu'il donne l'ordre à l'artiste du suspendre les travaux, qu'il choisisse un autre sujet et priez son Altesse de me donner la réponse de cette affaire car quand bien même l'Égypte serait indépendante le Vice-roi ne devrait pas faire, une telle insulte à son coreligionnaire a ajouté le Grand Vizier. » Typewritten letter dated 12 May that does not include the names of the addressee or sender. DWQ, *Magmou'at Mukatabaat Khassa*, 5013-004151.

²¹ Lababidi, *Cairo's Street Stories*, 58.

possibly from Cordier's grandson.²² *The Battle of Konya* relief, in fact, is signed in Arabic "After Cordier Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag" (fig. 49).

Count de Nieuwerkerke who was chosen to head the committee wrote Isma'il on 4 December, 1868 accepting "the honor of presiding over the committee charged to supervise [...] the execution of the monument your Highness has ordered for the memory of Ibrahim Pasha for two reasons. The first, because I was happy to have the opportunity to please your highness; the second, because the work is being given to a French artist and is the first to be erected on Egyptian soil, I will ensure it is in the best possible condition."²³ He then relayed the committee's decision to bring in another artist to help Cordier:

The committee, after examining the project of Mr. Cordier realized that this artist who proved his talent in numerous works he produced, has never studied the horse, would experience difficulties in the execution of one destined to carry the glorious figure of Ibrahim Pasha.

The committee therefore decided that a specialized artist assists Mr. Cordier and it has chosen Mr. Jacquemart, who has a glorious record of reproducing animals in art.

Knowing that Your Highness has the happy thought of adding four lions to the composition of the monument, allow me to recommend Mr. Jacquemart for their execution.

If, later on, Your Highness intends to erect a second equestrian statue to glorify another Egyptian ruler, I think the best choice would be the artist [Jacquemart] whom I have the honor to recommend²⁴

²² "The story of Ibrahim Pasha's statue," in *Al Hilal* (11 November 1948). Cited in *Modern Egypt* digital project in Bibliotheca Alexandrina: http://modernegypt.bibalex.org/NewDocumentViewer.aspx?DocumentID=PS_4886. (Accessed 10 June 2019). See also the biography on Ahmad Osman, which cites the relief as one of the sculptor's works. Sayed Hamid Al-Sadr, *Al-mathal Ahmad Osman: hayatu wa 'amalu* (The Sculptor Ahmad Osman: His Life and Work) (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1985), 14. *The Battle of Konya* is illustrated on page 49.

²³ « [L]'honneur de présider la commission charge de surveiller [...] l'exécution du monument que votre Altesse fait élever à la mémoire d'Ibrahim Pacha pour deux raisons. La première, parce que j'étais heureux de saisir une occasion d'être agréable à Votre Altesse ; la seconde, parce que ce travail étant confié à un artiste français et cette statue étant la première élevée sur le territoire Égyptien, je tenais à ce qu'il le fut dans les meilleures conditions possibles ». DWQ, *Magmou'at Mukatabaat Khassa*, 5013-004151.

²⁴ « La commission, qui a précédé, après un premier examen du projet de Monsieur Cordier a reconnu que cette artiste qui a donné des preuves de talent dans plusieurs œuvres dont il est l'auteur, n'ayant jamais étudiées le cheval, éprouverait d'insurmontable difficultés dans l'exécution de celui qui destine à porter la glorieuse figure d'Ibrahim Pacha. La commission a donc décidé qu'un artiste spécial serait adjoint à Mr. Cordier et elle a choisi Monsieur

No information is available to clarify if Jacquemart collaborated on the horse, however, he was commissioned to do the equestrian statue of Muhammad ‘Ali. Jacquemart, one of the most famous *animaliers* of the Second Empire, had a number of important monuments to his name including that of Louis XII and Napoleon III, as well as the sphinxes—that served as fountain sprouts—for the Fontaine de la Victoire (Fontaine du Palmier) in the Place du Châtelet. The latter project, which Jacquemart executed in 1858, was in fact his first encounter with Egypt before he traveled to the country between 1860 and 1870. While he was already a renowned artist when he was entrusted with the commission, he also had the backing of the most influential man in the French art world, Count de Nieuwerkerke.

There are no records that clearly indicate when the Egyptian government commissioned Muhammad ‘Ali’s equestrian statue. According to Gaston Wiet, the Egyptian Institute mentioned the statue on the 3rd of July, 1868, suggesting to place it beside the two obelisks called *Cleopatra’s Needles* in Alexandria, and writing the commemorative inscriptions in both Latin and Arabic.²⁵ Documents in the Egyptian archives related to this project start in December 1868. A letter from Nubar Pasha possibly to Eram Bey—Khedive Isma‘il’s Secretary and Interpreter (also Nubar’s brother-in-law), reveals how decisions were made about the selection of artists and the work’s design elements:

I had the honor to receive the telegram in which our August
Sovereign instructed me to coordinate the execution of the Grand

Jacquemart, qui a fait ses preuves de la façon la plus glorieuse dans l’art de reproduire les animaux. Sachent que Votre Altesse a l’heureuse pensée de faire entrer quatre figures de lions dans la compositions du monument, je me permets de lui recommander Monsieur Jacquemart pour leur exécution. Si, plus tard, Votre Altesse avait l’intention d’élever une seconde statue équestre à la gloire d’un autre Souverain de l’Egypte, je crois qu’elle ne pourrait faire un meilleur choix que celui de l’artiste que j’ai l’honneur de lui recommander ». Letter from Count de Nieuwerkerke to Isma‘il dated 4 December 1868. Ibid.

²⁵ *Bulletin de l’Institut égyptien, 1866-1868*, 90-91. Cited in Wiet, *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts*, 403.

Viceroy's statue with Count Nieuwerkerke. I saw the Count last night at Princess Mathilde [...]

The Count proposed Mr. Jacquemart to execute the statue. Mr. Jacquemart has to submit his project and drawings to the same committee instituted to oversee Cordier's project, if his Royal Highness has no objections against this committee as it was composed [...]. But in any case, we should know beforehand 1- the dimensions of the space in Alexandria where the statue will be erected. 2- the costume Muhammad Ali should wear: Turkish with the tarbush or Mamluk with the turban? The base on which the statue will be placed, will there be bronze bas-reliefs, and in this case what will the subject of the bas-reliefs represent? All these questions completely depend on the wishes of our August Master [...]²⁶

This letter from Nubar Pasha not only reveals the crucial role Ismail had in creating the image of the dynasty, but also provides insight into the professional networks in which French artists were circulating. Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904), herself a painter and an exemplar of cultural sophistication during the Second Empire held regular salons at her home frequently attended by leading literary and artistic figures including Gustave Flaubert, Théophile Gautier, the Goncourt brothers, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Ernest Hébert, Eugène-Emmanuel Amaury-Duval, and Count de Nieuwerkerke—who was one of her lovers.²⁷

²⁶ « J'ai l'honneur de recevoir le télégramme par lequel Notre Auguste Souverain m'ordonnait de m'entendre avec Mr. le Comte de Nieuwerkerke pour l'exécution de la statue du Grand Vice-Roi. J'ai vu le Comte hier soir chez la Princess Mathilde [...] Le Comte propose Mr. Jacquemart pour l'exécution de cette statue. Mr. Jacquemart devrait présenter ses projets et ses maquettes à la commission qui été institué pour juger les statues confiées à Mr. Cordier, au cas où son Altesse n'aurait aucune objection contre cette commission comme elle a été composée [...] Mais en tout cas, il faudrait connaitre au préalable 1^e) les dimensions de la place d'Alexandrie ou la Statue doit être placée [...] 2^e) le costume que doit porter le Grand Vice-Roi ? Est-ce le costume Constantinopolitain – le Nizam avec tarbouche, ou le mamelouk avec turban ? La base sur laquelle la statue sera placée, aura-t-elle des bas-reliefs doivent représenter ? Toutes ces questions dépendent complètement du désir de Notre Auguste Maître [...] » Typewritten letter from Nubar Pasha to Monsieur le Bey [possibly Eram Bey Secretary and Interpreter of Khedive Isma'il dated 28 December 1868. DWQ, *Magmou'at Mukatabaat Khasa*, 5013-004151.

²⁷ For information on Princess Mathilde, see M. Castillon du Perron, *La Princesse Mathilde* (Paris, 1953).

While there are no available records clarifying Count de Nieuwerkerke's relationship with Jacquemart, what is obvious is that he was pushing him to obtain the commission. On 6 March 1869, the Count reiterated his praise of Jacquemart in a letter to Isma'il:

[M]r. Jacquemart, the artist chosen by the committee for the equestrian monument of Ibrahim Pasha, to help Mr. Cordier in his work (in charging him to execute the horse) at this moment is in Egypt where he has a sketch for the project of Muhammad Ali's statue.

This sketch is charming, and no doubt, Mr. Jacquemart's enlarged version will make a great statue worthy of the great man whose august traits he was called upon to reproduce. In accordance with your orders, Your Highness, I will form a committee to supervise the execution of this monument and I will have the honor to transmit their opinion of the artist's work.²⁸

As head of the committee, Count de Nieuwerkerke was also responsible for the financial aspects of the commission. On the 7th of April 7, 1869, he wrote to the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs to "relay to his royal highness my satisfaction with the price of two hundred thousand francs offered to Mr. Jacquemart for the equestrian statue of Muhammad Ali,"²⁹

²⁸ « [M]r. Jacquemart, l'artiste choisie par la Commission du monument équestre d'Ibrahim Pacha, pour aider Monsieur Cordier dans son travail (en le chargeant de l'exécution du cheval) est dans ce moment en Égypte où il a porté une esquisse au projet de la statue de Mohamed Ali. Cette esquisse est charmante et sans doute Monsieur Jacquemart en la grandissant fera une excellente statue digne du haut personnage dont elle appelée à reproduire les augustes traits. Selon les ordres de Votre Altesse je formerai une commission pour surveiller l'exécution de ce monument et j'aurai l'honneur de transmettre à Votre altesse son opinion sur le travail de l'artiste ». Letter from Count Nieuwerkerke to Isma'il dated 6 March 1869. DWQ *Magmou'at Mukatabat Khasa*, 5013-004151.

²⁹ « Je vous prie de témoigner à Son Altesse la satisfaction que me fait éprouver la commande, au prix de deux cent mille francs, faits à Monsieur Jacquemart de la statue équestre de Méhémet-Ali. Je suis parfaitement convaincu que cet artiste éminent fera une œuvre digne du grand homme qu'elle doit représenter ». According to Wiet, King Farouk authorized his private secretary to provide him with the documents related to this commission. I was unable to find this letter in the archives in Cairo. Wiet, *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts*, 404.

although earlier he had made a point of letting the Khedive know that he thought Cordier's fee was excessive.³⁰ All money transactions were made in the Count's name.³¹

The final composition of Muhammad 'Ali's statue shows the Grand Viceroy dressed in Mamluk clothing with a turban and a gray beard, but with a strong youthful physique, and piercing gaze—a trait that caught the attention of all those who encountered him, in the act of guiding a calmly advancing horse (see fig. 40).³² It is interesting that Isma'il chose the Mamluk costume, even though Muhammad 'Ali had introduced the new clothing reforms in 1823—following the example of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-39), including the replacement of the Mamluk turban with the Turkish *fez*.³³ However, as Cadalvene and Bruevery pointed out in *L'Égypte et la Turquie, de 1829 à 1836*, although Muhammad 'Ali Pasha imposed on his troops the Turkish costume of the Empire, he did not apply it himself, and in the evenings he would wear the long clothing of the Mamluks with a large white turban on his head in the Albanian style.³⁴

Muhammad 'Ali's horse, also decorated with the dynasty's royal emblem, is in walking position with the right foreleg raised, following the popular prototype of many French equestrian statues like that of Henry IV. Muhammad 'Ali's pose, with one hand on his thigh and the other

³⁰ In his letter of 28 December 1868 to Monsieur le Bey (possibly Eram Bey), Nubar Pasha mentioned that Count Nieuwerkerke left the fee amount to be determined by Isma'il, but wanted him to know that it should not be as liberal as that of Cordier. Ibid.

³¹ The holdings of the Egyptian archives include two money orders with down payments for the statues: one in the amount of 16,000 liras for the execution of Ibrahim Pasha's statue; and the other in the amount of 8,000 pounds for Muhammad Ali's statue. DWQ *Abhath, Funun Gamila* (Research Fine Arts), Box note 40.

³² For descriptions of Muhammad Ali's eyes ranging from "sharp cunning eyes [...] vivid expression of his eye," to "piercing eye [that] was incessantly rolling about [...]," see Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, 4-9.

³³ Behrens-Abouseif, "The Visual Transformation of Egypt," 113.

³⁴ Cadalvène, Edmond de, and J. de Breuvery. *L'Égypte et la Turquie, de 1829 à 1836* (Paris : A. Bertrand, 1836), 207. Cited in Wiet, *Mohammad Ali et les Beaux-Arts*, 295.

holding the stirrup, recalls that of Louis XII's (r. 1498-1515) equestrian bas-relief at Compiègne, which was also executed by Jacquemart and shown at the Salon of 1869 (fig. 50).³⁵ It is not known whether the pose was suggested by Jacquemart, the committee, or even Isma'il, however, it may have been meant to underscore the connection with Louis XII who was known during his reign as "Father of the People." On the other hand, in writing about Muhammad Ali's statue, de Leon convincingly likened him to Napoleon I. "The equestrian statue of 'Napoleon of Egypt' [Muhammad 'Ali] looks proudly down from the Grand Plaza of Alexandria, seeming to keep watch and ward over the city of his love: so the mighty shadows of its founder still seems to rule Egypt [...] and protect it [...]"³⁶ De Leon went on to aptly sum up the analogy between the two rulers: neither was born in the country they ruled and where they had established their dynasties; and both were soldiers and statesmen who dreamt of founding an empire and obtaining succession for their heirs.³⁷ Ironically, as de Leon remarked, while both rulers founded their empire, it was Muhammad Ali's dynasty that lasted much longer.³⁸

The pedestal for the statue was commissioned from the architect Louis-Victor Louvet (1822-98), but he could not complete it because he was busy with the Panthéon projects.³⁹ Instead, the committee nominated his former student, Ambroise Baudry, and Isma'il gave his blessing, asking Sherif Pasha to make the financial arrangements that would ensure that the work

³⁵ « No. 3511-Louis XII ; statue équestre, bas-relief. Pour l'Hotel de Ville de Compiègne. (M. de la maison de l'Empereur et des Beaux-Arts) ». *Salon des artistes français, Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivants* (Paris, 1869), 492.

³⁶ De Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, 64.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 65.

³⁹ Marie-Crosnier-Leconte, and Mercedes Volait, *L'Egypte d'un architecte: Ambroise Baudry, 1838-1906* (Paris: Somogy Editions d'art, 1998), 60.

would be well executed.⁴⁰ Baudry was paid twenty thousand francs.⁴¹ Baudry also prepared a design of a base for Ibrahim's equestrian statue, but it was not used (fig. 51).⁴²

The brother of the famous painter Paul-Jacques-Aimé Baudry (1828-86), Ambroise achieved great success in Egypt where he lived from 1871 to 1886, and became Khedive Isma'il's chief architect from 1875 to 1878. Baudry also had the right contacts in France, which included the architect who created the Paris Opera, Charles Garnier (1825-98) and Edmond About, and when he arrived in Egypt, he built up networks with the French and local elite in the Khedive's entourage, such as the engineer Delort de Gleon (1843-99) and Nubar Pasha.⁴³ A pupil of Louvet and then later with Jean Adhémar (1795-1862)⁴⁴ at the École des Beaux-Arts, Baudry lived and worked in Egypt for fifteen years from 1871, where he built himself an "Arab style" house in Isma'ilia (Cairo's downtown area) that he decorated with all the ornaments he could save or acquire during Cairo's urban renewal."⁴⁵ Baudry, no doubt, typifies the many French artists, architects, and bureaucrats who crossed cultural borders and became mediators between Egypt and France. He transmitted Western modes of architecture that he had learned at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, while adopting Islamic styles. He became one of the earliest collectors of Islamic art and was among those who campaigned in the 1870s to preserve Cairo's

⁴⁰ Typewritten undated and unsigned letter to Cherif Pasha [original not in file]. DAQ *Magmou'at Mukatabat Khasa*, 5013-004151.

⁴¹ The information is from Baudry's account books. Crosnier-Leconte and Volait, *L'Egypte d'un architecte*, 60, 104 note 28.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁴ For a detailed biography of Ambroise Baudry and his work in Egypt, see *ibid.*

⁴⁵ "Notes manuscrites de Baudry," 8 novembre 1901 (archives J. R. Rhone). Cited in Crosnier-Leconte and Volait, *L'Egypte d'un architecte : Ambroise Baudry, 1838-1906*, 86 and 106 note 128.

Islamic architecture and ornament, which eventually led to the establishment of the Comité des Conservation de l'art Arabe in 1881. It is only by increasing our attention upon the mediating figures who worked *between* the East and the West, such as Baudry, that we can uncover their “entangled histories” during these years.

The initial design of the foot of the pedestal of Muhammad ‘Ali’s statue, originally featuring four lions on the four corners, was changed. A letter issued from the cabinet of the Khedive addressed to Sherif Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, states that “Jacquemart thought that the four lions ordered for the pedestal will have a mediocre effect and by enlarging them, they would be more appropriate to be placed at each side of the Qasr al-Nil Bridge” in Cairo (fig. 52).⁴⁶ Isma‘il agreed, and the lions were then enlarged from 2 to 4 meters, and erected in 1873, two at each side of the bridge. The swing-bridge, built in 1869-71 to link the eastern shore at Qasr al-Nil and the southern tip of the Gezira, was designed by the French engineer Linant de Bellefonds (1799-1883),⁴⁷ and it was constructed by the French company Fives-Lille.⁴⁸

Isma‘il was eager to have the two statues finished at the same time and wanted the unveiling of the statue of Muhammad ‘Ali to precede that of his father, because as he said, he “is very keen about such arrangements,” that is, to follow protocol by first honoring his grandfather

⁴⁶ « Mr. Jacquemart, y est-il écrit, pense que les quatre lions lui ont été commandes pour ce piédestal y serait d'un médiocre effet et figureraient beaucoup mieux, en les grossissant, aux deux extrémités du pont Qasr-el-Nil ». Letter from Khedive Isma‘il’s cabinet addressed to Cherif Pasha on 7 April 1871. Ibid., 404.

⁴⁷ Linant de Bellefonds arrived in Egypt in 1817 where he lived for the next sixty-five years, working on irrigation projects. From 1831 to 1825, he became chief engineer of public works in Upper Egypt, then of all Egypt, and in 1869, Minister of Public Works, and advisor to Khedive Ismail. See entry in La Bibliothèque nationale de France: https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12434293/louis_maurice_adolphe_linant_de_bellefonds/9

⁴⁸ When the bridge opened, it was unofficially referred to Gezira Bridge. However, when the bridge was replaced in 1931, it was renamed Khedive Isma‘il Bridge, and then Qasr al-Nil Bridge (the Palace of the Nile in Arabic) after the revolution in 1952.

and founder of the dynasty.⁴⁹ The statue was completed promptly. Gérôme and Guillaume sent a letter to Cherif Pasha on 3 July 1872 praising Muhammad ‘Ali’s statue, “[A]ll the difficulties concerning the statue were overcome by Jacquemart in a masterful way. The beautiful effect this monument will have in Alexandria is assured: the work is worthy of his highness’s government and the great man that Egypt wants to glorify and dedicate this powerful image.”⁵⁰ Before the journey to their final destination, the statues were displayed together with the other royal equestrian statues to the French public.

Exhibiting the Statues in Paris

Both bronze equestrian statues, cast by the Thiébeaut frères, were exhibited to critical acclaim at the Paris Salon in May 1872 for one month. The official Salon catalog listed Ibrahim Pasha’s sculpture under Cordier’s name without any reference to Jacquemart, perhaps because he finally did not execute the horse, but only gave advice on its modeling.⁵¹ Moreover, the catalog did not list Muhammad ‘Ali’s statue—possibly because it was not expected to be finished on

⁴⁹ Undated letter from Isma‘il to Nubar Pasha stamped “non envoyé.” DWQ, *Magmou‘at Mukatabaat Khasa*, 5013-004151.

⁵⁰ « Les lions, d’une proportion considérable et d’un bel aspect, décoreront dignement, nous en avons la certitude, les abords du palais de Son Altesse. Quant à la statue de Méhemet Ali, elle est maintenant partie pour sa destination. Mais ce n’est pas sans avoir été exposé à Paris et sans avoir été apprécié comme elle mérite de l’être. Ses grandes dimensions n’ont pas permis qu’elle figurât au Salon : elle a été placée pendant un mois dans les Champs-Élysées près du palais de l’Industrie [...] Toutes les difficultés que présente la statuaire équestre ont été vaincues par Mr. Jacquemart et il l’a fait en maître. Le bel effet que doit produire le monument d’Alexandrie est assuré : l’œuvre sera digne du Gouvernement de Son Altesse et digne du grand homme dont l’Égypte a voulu consacrer la puissante image et le glorieux souvenir ». Wiet, *Mohammad Ali et les Beaux-Arts*, 404-5.

⁵¹ « No. 1615- Ibrahim Pacha, vice-roi d’Égypte : statue équestre, bronze. Les bas-reliefs du piédestal représentant : l’un, la prise d’Acre : l’autre, la bataille de Konieh ». *Salon des artistes français, Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivants exposé au palais des Champs-Élysées Le 1^{er} mai 1872* (Paris: Impr. des sciences et arts, 1872), 247.

time.⁵² *L'Illustration*, on the other hand, reported on 2 July 1872, that the two equestrian statues were displayed outdoors at the Champs-Élysées. "In the square in the east near the restaurant, Ledoyen, an equestrian statue on a high pedestal, *Mohammad Ali*, by Mr. Alfred Jacquemart, destined to be placed in Alexandria; in the square to the west in front of the Diorama, another equestrian statue, even more colossal of *Ibrahim Pasha*, by Mr. Jules Cordier destined to be placed in Cairo. It is Paris that provides people of the old and new world with heroes and gods!"⁵³ Moreover, the satirical journal *Le Grelot*, featured both statues of Ibrahim Pasha and Muhammad 'Ali with the following caption: "It must be said, the presentation and lightness of Jacquemart's horse captivated opinion, Cordier's rigorous and well planted horse was not without supporters, but he [the horse] was not completely in shape. Jacquemart's triumphed easily [...] But who knows what would have happened if Cordier's horse had its wheels" (fig. 53).⁵⁴

The Statues Unveiled in Egypt

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ « Dans le square de l'Est, près du restaurant Ledoyen, une statue équestre sur un haut piédestal, le *Méhémet-Ali*, de M. Alfred Jacquemart, destinée à une place d'Alexandrie ; dans le square d'Ouest, devant le Diorama, une autre statue équestre, plus colossal encore, *Ibrahim Pacha*, de M. Jules Cordier, destinée à une place au Caire. C'est Paris qui fournit aux peuples de vieux et nouveau monde des héros et des dieux ! ». "Salon de 1872," *L'Illustration*, 6 July 1872.

⁵⁴ « Il faut le dire, les performances du cheval de Jacquemart et sa légèreté avaient captive l'opinion, Le cheval de Cordier, rigoureux, bien planté ne manquait pas de partisans, mais il n'était pas complètement dans la forme. Le cheval de Jacquemart a triomphé et est arrivé facilement premier de plusieurs longueurs. Mais qui sait ce qui serait arrivé si le cheval de Cordier avait ses roulettes ? » *Le Grelot Au Salon de 1872 : le Salon de 1872 / dépeint et dessiné par Bertall* (Paris, 1872), 26.

After the end of the Salon, the statues were shipped and arrived in Egypt on 2 July 1872.⁵⁵ There are no sources, known to me, about the unveiling ceremony of Ibrahim Pasha's statue. It appears that his statue was first erected in Midan Azbak, as per an image published in *L'Illustration* of January 1873 showing Ismail's son's marriage procession (fig. 54),⁵⁶ and another in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* of 1948 depicting the statue in that same location (fig. 55).⁵⁷ I have not found any records indicating when the statue was moved to its current location in front of the Opera House. A replica of Ibrahim Pasha's statue also stands at the entrance of the Military Museum at the Citadel in Cairo (fig. 56).

As for Muhammad 'Ali's statue, it was unveiled on 16 August 1873 at the Place des Consuls, over a year after it was erected in the square. Douin noted that the initial date for the unveiling ceremony on 19 December 1872 was cancelled for unknown reasons.⁵⁸ He described the event as "a very simple ceremony that lasted for a couple of minutes. It was presided over by the governor of Alexandria and by an Egyptian general, no prince or minister attended [...] the grand majority of spectators consisted of Europeans who happened to be there by chance. There were canon salutes by infantry troops [...]"⁵⁹ What is striking is the understated ceremony, the

⁵⁵ The date of 2 July was given by Wiet in his discussion of Muhammad 'Ali's statue. Wiet, *Mohammad Ali et les Beaux-Arts*, 405.

⁵⁶ That year witnessed lavish wedding celebrations of four of Isma'il's children, those of hereditary prince Tawfik, Prince Hussein, Prince Hassan, and Princess Fatimah.

⁵⁷ Jacques Tagher, "Ibrahim Pacha, Promoteur de l'idée panarabe moderne," *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* (Cairo: Dist. by Au Bouquiniste Oriental, 1948). There is no text on the statue, but a picture of it is illustrated between page 56 and 57. I could not find any records on the move of Ibrahim Pasha's statue from its temporary location or on the unveiling ceremony.

⁵⁸ Douin, *Histoire du règne de Khédive Isma'il*, vol. 2, 740-41.

⁵⁹ « La cérémonie fut très simple et ne dura que quelques minutes. Elle fut présidée par le gouverneur d'Alexandrie et par un général égyptien ; aucun prince, aucun ministre n'y assista [...] La grande majorité des spectateurs était composée d'Européens que le hasard avait conduits sur les lieux. Un salut coups de canon fut tiré par un fort et des troupes d'infanterie [...] » Ibid.

absence of the Khedive and his ministers, and the lack of French or British coverage in their newspapers. According to Douin, the Khedive had arrived to Alexandria from Istanbul on 14 August, where he stayed for three days, and the city was lit up in celebration.⁶⁰ He had gone to Turkey in order to revoke the 1869 *firman*, and he succeeded. In addition, he also received the long desired *firman* from the Sultan granting him and his successors almost complete autonomy. *The Illustrated London News* reported that “the succession is settled according to the principal of primogeniture, and almost the only acknowledgments of suzerainty that remain will be that the coins of the Khedive will bear the Sultan’s inscription; his army must carry the Sultan’s colours, and he must not, without the consent of the Porte, build or purchase ironclad ships of war.”⁶¹ It cost him a high price, as he paid a fixed tribute to the Sultan of 150,000 in gold purses, the equivalent of roughly £ 680,000 today.⁶² Egypt’s independence was thus ensured, and his family was consolidated as an Egyptian dynasty.

The statues were strategically placed in the most modern squares of the country’s metropolises, thereby serving as a constant reminder of the dynasty’s contribution to urban modernization and urban reform. As Isma‘il said in his opening remarks to the first representative parliament in 1866, when his grandfather became governor of Egypt in 1805, “he found it devoid of any signs of urbanization and found its people deprived of security and comfort [...] God blessed him [Muhammad ‘Ali] for his intentions to establish the urbanization

⁶⁰ Ibid., 740.

⁶¹ “Foreign and Colonial News,” *The Illustrated London News* (12 July 1873), 30.

⁶² See *firman* text in de Leon, *The Khedive’s Egypt*, 428.

of Egypt [...] My father was a great help [...] he followed in his father's footsteps to complete those great endeavors diligently and assiduously."⁶³

Muhammad 'Ali had revived the city of Alexandria as an important commercial port with the modern infrastructure to become the second capital of the country. It was also a city he loved, and where he built his summer residence in 1817 (Ras al-Tin palace). The Place des Consuls square—the hub of European consulates, merchants and financiers—was redesigned in the 1840s by the Italian engineer Francesco Mancini, under Ibrahim's supervision. The new rectangular-shaped square consisted of *okelles* buildings (*wikala* in Arabic)—that were used as urban warehouses and hostels for merchants—adorned with Neoclassical facades.⁶⁴ Under Isma'il, the square was extended with the addition of a French-style garden, hotels, a church, and a synagogue. John Murray's handbook of 1875 vividly describes the square as “the European centre of Alexandria. In it are situated the principal hotels, shops, bankers' and merchants' offices. At the N.E. corner is the English church, and on the same side is the French consulate. The houses are all built in large blocks called *Okelles*. Recent improvements have made the interior of the square a very pleasant promenade, shaded by trees and well provided with seats. At each side is a large fountain; and in the centre a statue of the great Mohammad Ali.”⁶⁵ A

⁶³ Khaled Azab, “Memory and Future of History,” *Awrak* (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Futuristic Studies Unit, 2015), 35: https://www.bibalex.org/Attachments/Publications/Files/2016070310521485328_awrak2Memoryfutureofhistory.pdf (Accessed 25 September 2016).

⁶⁴ There is little information about Mancini. He came to Egypt in 1820 and founded the institution of the Commission of Ornament in Alexandria. See paper by Cristina Pallini “Italian Architects and Modern Egypt”: <http://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/articlepallini.pdf>. (Accessed 25 August 2016).

⁶⁵ John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt: Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile Through Egypt and Nubia, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids and Thebes, the Suez Canal, the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the Oases, the F[a]yoom, Etc.*, 5th ed. (London: J. Murray, 1875), 93.

second equestrian statue of Muhammad ‘Ali was later erected by his great-grandson King Fu‘ad (r. 1923-36) in his native town of Kavalla in Macedonia.⁶⁶

In Cairo, Azbakiyya—the area of the rich and famous since its founding in the fifteenth century—was the nexus of Cairo’s transformation from its medieval past to a modern European style square.⁶⁷ The historic relevance of the square must have resonated with Isma‘il: Azbakiyya was the headquarters of Napoleon Bonaparte during the French occupation; it was Muhammad ‘Ali’s headquarters where he received the *firman* designating him as governor of Egypt, and where he was officially appointed in the presence of Egypt’s *‘ulema* and officials.⁶⁸ From that time, all public and dynastic celebrations were held in that square. Azbakiyya, as discussed in the previous chapter, witnessed major renovations between 1867 and 1869, becoming one of the most famous squares in the world, comparable to Paris’s Champs de Mars, the Place de Concorde, and the Parc Monceau—after which it was modeled.⁶⁹ The square boasted music theatres including the Théâtre de la Comédie, a Circus, Opera House, a Hippodrome becoming, as Adam Mestyan said, “the uncontested cultural capital, not only of Egypt, but of the whole Ottoman Arab world, joining the international market of the opera/theatre businesses.”⁷⁰ The Opera and garden theatres attracted the elite (Ottomans and Egyptians) and Europeans, but an

⁶⁶ Kreiser, “Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt,” and 116 note 38.

⁶⁷ For the transformation of Azbakiyya square from the Mamluk period to Isma‘il’s reign, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and its Environs: From Azbak to Ismail 1476-1879* (Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1985).

⁶⁸ Ibid., 82

⁶⁹ Ibid., 96.

⁷⁰ Adam Mestyan, “Power and Music in Cairo: Azbakiyya,” *Urban History*, 40, no. 2 (2013), 699.

Arabic theatre (presenting plays in colloquial Arabic) established by Ya‘qub Sannu‘ (1839-1912)⁷¹ in 1871, under the Khedive’s patronage, brought ordinary Egyptians to Azbakiyya.

Other Public Statues

It is apparent that Jacquemart impressed Isma‘il, as he was given the commissions of two other statues. The first was of Soliman Pasha (also written Suleyman, Süleyman, or Suleiman), located now at the entrance of the Citadel’s Military Museum (from 1874 to 1964 it was located in the square named after Soliman Pasha, now Talaat Harb Square, see fig. 42). Born in Lyon, Joseph-Anthelme Sève served in Napoleon’s army before arriving in Egypt in 1819 and was hired to train the officers in Muhammad ‘Ali’s new army.⁷² He converted to Islam, married a Greek woman—known as Sit Mariam—and his great granddaughter married King Fu‘ad and became Queen Nazli of Egypt. He also rose to the rank of general, and the title of Pasha was conferred on him. As the historian Felix Konrad has suggested, Soliman Pasha was a transcultural figure who “transmitted French military expertise to Egypt, backed French Saint-Simonians who came there to carry out their fanciful project of ‘uniting Orient and Occident’,

⁷¹ Ya‘qub Sannu‘, an Egyptian of Italian Jewish parents was playwright, theatre producer, writer and founder of the first weekly satirical journal *Abu Nazzara Zarqa* (The Man with the Blue Glasses) in 1877. After sharply criticizing Khedive Isma‘il, Sannu‘ was exiled in 1878 to Paris where he stayed until 1907. For an account of the life of Sannu‘, see Irene Gandzier, *The Practical Visions of Yaqub Sanua* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Philip Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century: 1799-1882* (Reading, Berkshire: Ithaca Press, 2007) 89-124; Michael Ezekiel Gasper, *The Power of Representation Publics, Peasants, and Islam in Egypt* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009), 62-107; and Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt*, 25-59.

⁷² Felix Konrad, “Religion, Political Loyalty, and Identity: French and Egyptian Perceptions of Süleyman Paşa Sève (1788-1860),” in *Agents of Transculturation Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens*, eds. Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun (Münster, Westf: Waxmann, 2013), 90. For Soliman Pasha’s biography, see Aimé Vingtrinier, *Soliman-pacha, colonel Sève, généralissime des armées égyptiennes : ou, Histoire des guerres de l’Égypte de 1820 à 1860* (Paris: Didot, 1886).

and mediated between European travelers and Egyptians,” and yet as “a high ranking army officer, and loyal servant to Mehmed Ali, and a member of the Ottoman Egyptian elite, he must have had an ‘Egyptian’ identity.”⁷³

Jacquemart’s statue of Soliman Pasha portrays the general proudly standing in army uniform holding his sword in his right hand and a monocle in his right hand behind his back (fig. 57). Lababidi identifies Soliman Pasha’s uniform as that of the French Zouaves (given to an infantry regiment in the French army that served in Africa in the 1830s).⁷⁴ The Zouave uniform—flowing pantaloons and a fez, with an embroidered waistcoat—is somewhat similar to what Soliman Pasha is wearing. However, it is more plausible that because Soliman Pasha was in the service of Muhammad ‘Ali, that his uniform would likely conform to a Turkish army one, which John Bowring had described in 1840 as “something between the Oriental and the Frank costume. A short jacket covering a waistcoat; very loose and large breeches, fastened close round the calf of the legs. The ordinary sash is worn, and the loose slippers [....]”⁷⁵ An image of Soliman Pasha with Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha in Édouard Gouin’s 1847 book, *L’Égypte au XIXe siècle: Histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim-Pacha, Soliman-Pacha (colonel Sèves)* shows the Turkish uniform Bowring described, worn by all three men in (fig. 58).⁷⁶ In his statue, Soliman Pasha is dressed in a Turkish army uniform, but instead of the typical Turkish slippers with turned-up toes, he is

⁷³ Ibid., 90.

⁷⁴ Lababidi, *Cairo’s Street Stories*, 56.

⁷⁵ Sir John Bowring, “Report on Egypt and Candia,” *Parliamentary Papers, Reports from Commissioners* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1840), 51-52.

⁷⁶ Édouard Gouin, *L’Égypte au XIXe siècle: Histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim-Pacha, Soliman-Pacha (colonel Sèves)*, (Paris: P. Boizard, 1847).

wearing boots like those of Napoleon Bonaparte in Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Napoleon in Egypt* (1867-68, Princeton University Art Museum). There is no information, to my knowledge, about who chose Soliman Pasha's costume for the statue. However, it aptly reflects Soliman Pasha's dual identity during his lifetime of being both Egyptian and French. As Konrad pointed out, Soliman Pasha "cultivated his French identity in the company of his French guests in Cairo," but "lived the life of an Ottoman-Egyptian grandee [...] residing in great style in a palace that included a harem building."⁷⁷ While costume is certainly a marker of identity, as recent research has suggested, allegiance to a ruling dynasty in "the early modern period" was crucial in defining an individual's identity.⁷⁸

Soliman Pasha's statue was exhibited at the 1874 Salon where it was received with acclaim (fig. 59).⁷⁹ The French, still recovering from their crushing defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1872, were certainly happy to celebrate their superiority in the arts. In his review of the Salon, the critic, Jules-Antoine Castagnary wrote that Egypt has commissioned M. Jacquemart to adorn one of its squares with the statue of Suleyman Pasha [...] this enthusiasm within, this growing expansion abroad, this is the first consolation of our misfortunes, and this is the real recovery that begins [...] France's artistic superiority has been recognized: its moral supremacy resumes its course."⁸⁰ A review by Nestor Pautrot echoed the same sentiments: "it

⁷⁷ Konrad, "Religion, Political Loyalty, and Identity," 103.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 93. See also Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Shifting Identities. Foreign State Servants in France and the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 109-34.

⁷⁹ « No. 2946. Sulayman Pacha, major général de l'armée égyptienne sous Ibrahim Pacha, statue bronze (Destiné à la décoration d'une place, au Caire) hors concours ». *Salon des artistes français, Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivants aux palais de Champs-Élysées Le 1^{er} Mai 1874* (Paris, 1874), 448.

⁸⁰ « L'Égypte à demander à M. Jacquemart, pour orner l'une des places du Caire, la *Statue de Suleyman-Pacha* [...] Cette ardeur d'émulation au-dedans, cette expansion grandissante au dehors, c'est la première consolation de nos malheurs, c'est le véritable relèvement qui commence. La supériorité artistique de la France était constatée: sa

seems that the East side is better than the West side [...] the capital of Egypt is luckier than Marseille [...] This grand Suleyman Pasha [...] has a different effect than our grand Berryer [Pierre-Antoine] [...] It is in the costume, the large pants and soft boots, the wide sash, the embroidered vest, that is more becoming than the buttoned clothing and pants worn by the renowned orator [Berryer].”⁸¹

The second statue Jacquemart executed was of Muhammad Lazoghli Bey (also spelled Lazughli, Laz Oghli, Lazaglou, Lazzogloer) located in front of *Majlis al-Shaab* or the Egyptian parliament (see fig. 43). Of Albanian origin, he was one of Muhammad Ali’s most trusted officials; he was minister of defense, minister of finance simultaneously, and first prime minister from 1808 to 1823. Interestingly, Lababidi notes, no one knew what he looked like. Fayza Hassan recounts: “Members of the government entrusted with solving this problem appealed to the prominent Sabet and Daramalli pashas whose families had been close to that of Lazo Oghli [...] While the two pashas were sipping hot tea in their favorite cafe in Khan el-Khalili, Daramalli pointed out to a *saqqa* (water carrier) walking by. “Doesn’t he look exactly like Lazoghli?” he exclaimed. Sabet Pasha took a longer look at the *saqqa*. ‘The spitting image of the *katkhuda*.’”⁸²

supr matie morale reprend son cours  . Jules-Antoine Castagnary, *Salons* [...] *Tome II. 1872-1879* (Paris: Biblioth que Charpentier 1892), 134.

⁸¹ « [I]l me semble que le c t  Est est mieux garni que le c t  Ouest [...] La capitale de l’ gypte a plus de chance que Marseille ! Ce grand *Suleyman pasha* produit, du moins ici, un bien autre effet que notre grand Berryer [...] Cela tient au costume ; cette large culotte termin e par des botte molles, l’ample ceinture qui les accompagne, la veste brod e,  toffent bien mieux, le personnage que l’habit boutonne et le pantalon  trique de l’illustre orateur  . Nestor Pautrot, *Le Salon de 1874* (Paris: Bureaux du journal Le National, 1874), 92.

⁸² Fayza Hasssan, “Once they were Kings,” *Egypt Today* (December 2004). Cited in Lababidi’s *Cairo’s Street Stories*, 53. I did not find other sources to corroborate this information.

The statue was exhibited at the 1875 Salon (fig. 60).⁸³ Anatole de Montaiglon cited this bronze as a “standing figure, very simple, but with a good turn, of Mahomet-Bey Lazzogloer, Mehemet Ali’s prime minister, which M. Alfred Jacquemart retained the old Turkish costume, with the turban, long open coat with wide sleeves and baggy trousers, and which will be erected in a place in Cairo.”⁸⁴

The Egyptian Perception

The attitude towards the visual arts in Egypt—as in other Muslim lands—during the nineteenth century was somewhat ambiguous. Technically, figural art was prohibited in the Ottoman and Arab lands. The four Sunni schools of law generally forbade the visual representation of a living being, until Egypt’s *Mufti* (Islamic legal counsellor) Muhammad ‘Abduh issued a *fatwa* (religious decree) legalizing figural images, and emphasizing their educational value.⁸⁵ However, prior to the new decree, and despite the religious orthodox ban on

⁸³ « No. 3170. Mahomed-Bey Lazzogloer, premier ministre de Méhémet-Ali, statue bronze, destinée à une place publique du Caire, hors concours ». *Salon des artistes français, Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivants, exposés aux palais de Champs-Élysées Le 1^{er} Mai 1875* (Paris, 1875), 479.

⁸⁴ « [I]a Figure debout, très simple, mais d'une bonne tournure, de Mahomet-Bey Lazzogloer, premier ministre de Méhémet-Ali, auquel M. Alfred Jacquemart a conservé l'ancien costume turc, avec le turban, le long manteau ouvert à larges manches et le pantalon bouffant, et qui doit être élevée sur une place du Caire [...] » Anatole de Montaiglon, and Louis Gonse, *Salon de 1875 : peinture et sculpture / par Anatole de Montaiglon; aquarelles, dessins et gravures / par Louis Gonse* (Paris: Gazette des beaux-art, 1875), 71.

⁸⁵ Journalist, theologian, jurist, Egypt’s Grand Mufti from 1899-1905, Muhammad ‘Abduh, like his mentor al-Afghani, was considered an architect of Islamic modernism. His ideas were expressed through the journals *Al-manar* (The Lighthouse), published by his disciple and friend Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935). His 1904 *fatwa* (religious decree) supported representational art (images and statues) ending Islamic the prohibition of figural images. For more on Abduh’s biography and his *fatwa*, see Dina Ramadan, “The Aesthetics of the Modern: Producing Artists, Cultivating Collectors, and Imagining Audiences in Egypt 1908-1958,” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 15-63; and Vernioit, “The Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century Muslim Thought,” in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century*, 19-35.

figural visual representation, the practice was not uncommon. For example, the Ottoman ruler, Mahmud II commissioned large-scale painted portraits to send to other rulers, and he began the tradition of displaying his portraits in government offices, military barracks, and war ships, a custom that is still practiced today in government buildings and other public spaces throughout the Middle East.⁸⁶ In Egypt, Muhammad ‘Ali also had an abundant oeuvre of portraits, as shown in Gaston Wiet’s book *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts*.⁸⁷

As I mentioned earlier, what was new with the statues that Isma‘il had commissioned was their public display. So did their intended symbolism reach beyond the Europeans and local elites?⁸⁸ From the limited evidence we have about the unveiling of Muhammad ‘Ali’s statue, we know that the indigenous population was absent. That is not surprising, especially because art (whether painting or sculpture) in Egypt until the second half of the twentieth century, had a limited audience comprised of the elite and foreigners. In 1882, the statues became a source of controversy during the ‘Urabi revolt, which protested the Ottoman monopoly of power and European intervention in economic affairs. It was then that ‘Urabi launched the slogan “Egypt for the Egyptians”—even though members of the movement were loyal to the Ottoman Sultan. He also used the longstanding religious orthodox ban of figural art in an attempt to make the public gesture of destroying the statues to appeal to his supporters with Islamic fervor. Therefore, he requested the Grand Mufti, Muhammad al-‘Abbas al-Mahdi (1827-97) to issue a *fatwa* to

⁸⁶ Stephen Vernoit notes that Mahmud II’s initiatives eventually led to an uprising, nevertheless, the Sultan insisted to send his portraits to other rulers with a lot of fanfare accompanied by military parades, with gun salves, music, and fireworks, even though there were some objections to such practices. Vernoit, “The Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century Muslim Thought,” 23-24.

⁸⁷ Wiet, *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts*, 319.

⁸⁸ In Egypt, at the time, art was a privilege of the wealthy elites and later educated Egyptians.

legalize the statues' destruction, as required by shari'a law.⁸⁹ The *fatwa*, that Mufti issued on 31 August 1882, stipulated that such figural representations were reprehensible and should be removed. The ruling was sufficient to motivate Sheikh 'Ullaish in September of that year to urge protestors to remove the lions of the Qasr-al Nil bridge and Ibrahim Pasha's equestrian statue at Azbakiyya.⁹⁰ The statues were then taken to the Egyptian Museum at Bulaq, and after the revolt was suppressed, they were returned to their locations.⁹¹

Despite the 1952 Revolution that ended a century and a half of dynastic rule by Muhammad Ali's family, the royal statues have remained in their location. Soliman Pasha, however, had a different fate. In 1964, the statue was moved to the entrance of the Military Museum at the Citadel in 1964, and was replaced by a statue of the Egyptian economist who founded Bank Misr, Talaat Harb (1867-1941). The name of the square was also changed to Talaat Harb Square. As Konrad observed, Soliman Pasha's "downfall was due to his association with the dynasty on the one hand, and to his being "Faransawi" [French] on the other: the Nasserist regime [...] condemned the dynasty and its foreign supporters as equally alien to the 'Arab Egyptian nation'."⁹² But if the reason for changing the statue's location was because of Soliman Pasha's association with the khedivial dynasty, then why were the royal statues themselves not removed? Interestingly, for many years taxi drivers continued to refer to the downtown square as Soliman Pasha Square. In recent years, there has been a certain nostalgia for

⁸⁹ Peters, Rudolph, "The Lions of Qasr al-Nil Bridge: The Islamic Prohibitions of Images as an Issue in the 'Urabi Revolt," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*, eds. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, and David S. Powers (Cambridge, MA and London, 1966), 217.

⁹⁰ Because of his loyalty to the Khedive, the Mufti added a supplement to the effect that there were more important religious commands to enforce than to remove the statues, but that was not sufficient to deter the rioters. *Ibid.*, 218.

⁹¹ Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians!* 282. See also Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt," 108; and Vernoit, "The Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century Muslim Thought," 32.

⁹² Konrad, "Religion, Political Loyalty, and Identity," 108.

the khedivial dynasty. For instance, the exhibition *Features of an Era* was held in 2019—for the first time ever since the 1952 Revolution, offering a glimpse into the Muhammad ‘Ali dynasty.⁹³ The exhibition presented a collection of paintings, sculptures, and photographs depicting members of the dynasty, as well as their personal memorabilia. Among the works was a small-scale statue of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha’s equestrian sculpture by Jacquemart. That said, when I asked a few taxi drivers about the khedivial dynasty’s statues, some did not know them, one described them as idolatry objects, and another said that uneducated Egyptians do not know who they are.

Conclusion

Through examining previously unpublished material we come to realize the significant agency of non-Western countries in their self-definition. As we have seen, Isma‘il was involved in defining his dynastic symbolism in the equestrian statues of his grandfather and father. The best French sculptors sanctioned by a committee from the French Academy were hired to execute the statues. While their poses were influenced by French prototypes, thus reflecting a Western orientation, the clothing (and the reliefs chosen for Ibrahim Pasha’s statue) suggests a powerful and independent dynasty. Encounters between Egyptian patrons and French artists in this chapter, supports Mackenzie’s view that these artists were in fact not a tool of imperialism. Rather, many were motivated by their career and financial interests, and some were concerned to uphold France’s leadership in the arts.

⁹³ Curated by Ehab Ellabban, the exhibition was held at Aisha Fahmy Palace from January to March, 2019, with a collection of portraits, sculptures, photographs of the members of the dynasty, as well as memorabilia. See *Treasures of Our Art Museum 3: Feature of An Era* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 2019).

Isma'il realized the power of art and propaganda to project the political image he wanted to convey of his dynasty and country. In this case, it was of both his grandfather, the strong and sturdy founder of the dynasty, and his father, a celebrated military leader with many victories. The statues portraying Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha also reflected a two-fold East-West connotation: the protagonists wore Oriental attire to proclaim an iconic image of the Khedivial dynasty's power, while the choice of the equestrian statues (a European symbol of power) was to reflect the dynasty's Western orientation. This dual orientation thus projected pride in their origin while appearing on par with Western nations. As indicated above, the statues did not resonate with the indigenous population, but I believe, Isma'il was not targeting this segment. Rather, he was addressing an international audience, the Ottoman Empire, and local educated elites, in order to consolidate and legitimize his dynasty, as well as to project Egypt's independence and power.

Chapter 4

From Costume Book “Type” to Symbol of Nation: Egypt’s *Fallaha*

The *fallah[a]* is one of the most interesting types of women to study for her physical beauty, character, and moral disposition.

Magasin Pittoresque, 1838.¹

‘Daughter of Egypt’ you lifted the veil from your eyes, taking away the ravages of time [...] *Fallaha* you have the charm and serenity, the beauty, the firmness and melancholy.

Ahmed Zaki Abu Shadi, 1927.²

Introduction

One of the most popular works in the Exposition Universelle of 1867 was Charles Landelle’s (1821-1908) *The Fallah Woman* (1866, destroyed, see copy, date unknown, Musée de Laval- fig. 61).³ Dressed in a long robe, opened in the middle to reveal part of her breast, a bejeweled Egyptian female peasant or *fallaha* stands upright, with her hand resting on a large amphora.⁴ (Throughout this chapter I will use the more accurate term *fallaha* instead of *fellah* woman, which was commonly used in the nineteenth century.) Images of the *fallaha* drawing water from the Nile, carrying her child, or a water jar on her head had become ubiquitous in art by the 1860s,

¹ « La fellah est un des types de femme les plus intéressants à étudier, soit comme beauté physique, soit comme caractère et dispositions morales, » “La Femme Fellah,” *Magasin Pittoresque* (Paris, 1838), 182.

² Poem in Arabic written by Ahmed Zaki Abu Shadi about the statue of *Nahdat Misr* by Mahmud Mukhtar, in *al-Mathal Mukhtar* (Mahmud Mukhtar the Sculptor), by Badr al-Din Abu Ghazi (Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmiyya lil-Tiba‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964), 134-35.

³ Landelle created an exact replica of the original 1866 painting that was destroyed at St. Cloud during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, which is in the Musée du Vieux-Château, Laval. For other replicas by Landelle, see Didier Pillon and Charles Schaettel, *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908: exposition rétrospective, 25 juin-13 septembre 1987* (Laval: Musée du Vieux-Château, 1987), 96-97.

⁴ The word *fallaha* in Arabic (literally to plow, till) refers to an Egyptian female peasant.

as seen in other paintings and sculptures at the Paris Salons. The *fallaha* also had a prominent presence at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, including two that were displayed at the Egyptian pavilion: a sculpture by Charles Cordier (ca. 1866, location unknown, fig. 62),⁵ and a painting by an unidentified artist (location unknown, fig. 63).

By that time, many French artists who traveled to Egypt had certainly encountered the *fallaha*. Unlike urban Egyptian women who were veiled and concealed from the sight of men, the *fallaha*—who only covered her head—could be seen working alongside her husband in the fields, or conducting outdoor tasks.⁶ Artists who had not made the trip to Egypt could resort to the many descriptive or costume books that were available, such as *Souvenirs d'Égypte* by Alexandre Bida (1813-85) and Emile Prosper Barbot (1798-1878), published in 1851 (fig. 64).⁷ Khedive Isma‘il who presented himself as the “prince of *fallahin*,”⁸ two years after the Paris exposition commissioned Edmond About to publish a novel *Le fellah: souvenir d'Égypte* which appeared serially in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* starting in February to April 1869.⁹ This was also a period when the *fallahin* played a key role in the boom of Egypt’s economy as Europe imported its supply of cotton from Egypt during the American Civil War (1861-65). Yet, despite Isma‘il’s courtship of the *fallahin* and their popularity abroad, when Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi

⁵ There are no known published images of the *fallaha* in the Egyptian pavilion. However, the sculpture was described as a *fallaha* carrying a large water jug on her head and carrying a smaller one in her hand, which corresponds to the *fallaha* on the right-hand side in the illustrated image. For the sculpture’s description, see Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867*, 67.

⁶ The Comte de Forbin mentioned he saw women and young girls gathering water along the Nile. Louis Nicolas Philippe Auguste Forbin, Nicolas Auguste Leisnier, and Simon-César Delaunay (*Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818, par M. le C.te de Forbin*. (Paris : De l'imprimerie Royale, 1819), 201.

⁷ Alexandre Bida, and E. Barbot, *Souvenirs d'Égypte* [...] (Paris : Impr. Lemer cier, 1851).

⁸ The Khedive himself referred to that in his conversation. About, *Le fellah*, 154.

⁹ Isma‘il paid 25,000 francs for the book—15,000 down payment, 10,000 after publication. Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, vol. 2, 271 note 1.

presented the Khedive with a colossal statue of a *fallaha* to be used as the Suez Canal Lighthouse, Isma‘il turned it down (fig. 65). Whether the proposal was rejected for lack of funds as Bartholdi claimed, or because Isma‘il did not like it, as Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby would have it, is not certain.¹⁰ While these claims may be valid, in my view, it is more likely that the lighthouse he finally chose was more appealing, because it was considered a modern marvel in its time. Besides, at the time, Egypt’s urban elite looked down upon the *fallahin*, whom they considered dumb, superstitious, ignorant, as well as frozen in time, and needing reform.¹¹ It was only by the 1880s and 1890s that the *fallahin* became vital subjects in Egypt’s nationalist discourse, and by the early 20th century they came to embody the soul of the nation: authentic Egyptians whose unchanging lifestyle preserved ancient Egyptian civilization.¹² Intellectuals celebrated the peasants’ national authenticity; writers, poets, composers, and artists made them the subject of a new national art; and politicians—for the first time—proudly claimed their peasant roots. In art, the *fallaha* symbolized Egypt in two prominent monuments: the first a bronze statue of the Egyptian national leader, Mustafa Kamil (1874-1908) by French sculptor Léopold Savine (1861-1934), erected in 1914, and the second a granite sculpture *Nahdat Misr*

¹⁰ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, “Out of the Earth: Egypt’s Statue of Liberty,” in *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*, eds. Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 58, 60. In the book that followed her essay, Grigsby offered a new reason for Ismail’s rejection, which is that he may have wanted a lighthouse similar to the one he saw at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, made out of cast metal and with electric light. *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal* (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009), 66.

¹¹ Urban elites had always disdained the peasant class, and even traditional forms of entertainment, songs, and poetry represented them as backward, superstitious, and static. The 17th-century satire *Hazz al-Quhuf fi-Sharh Qasid Abi Shaduf* (Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abu Shaduf Expounded) that featured the *fallah* as stupid, materialistic, vulgar, and stingy was published or reprinted in 1857-58, 1872, 1879, 1889, 1892, 1894, and 1904. The name of Shirbini’s *fallah* character ‘Abu Shaduf’ was used widely used in the local press. See Gasper, *The Power of Representation*, 54; and Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt*, 16-17. For a study of Shirbini’s text see Gabriel Baer, *Fellah and Townsman in the Middle East: Studies in Social History* (London: F. Cass, 1982), 3-38.

¹² Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 205, 207.

(*The Awakening of Egypt*) by the Egyptian artist Mahmud Mukhtar (1891-1934), erected in 1928 (figs. 66 and 67). The *fallaha*'s rise to visually represent Egypt was part of a new nationalism taking shape, one that was rooted both in Egypt's glorious ancient past and in its authentic rural environment. It also coincided with the debates on the unveiling of women, which many urban elite women finally took advantage of around the time of the statue's production.

To date, scholarship on the visual representation of the *fallaha*—whether in Arabic, French, or English, is rather sparse.¹³ In this chapter, I shall trace the *fallaha* images' trajectory from French costume book “type” in the early 19th century to a symbol of the Egyptian nation in the early 20th century. It is a path that intersects with a complex mix of international politics and local socio-political changes. The century began with the French occupation, followed by Egypt's endeavor to gain autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, and modernization reforms, and ended with the British occupation, and the rise of nationalism. Egyptian-French encounters played a key role in shaping both modern Egyptian identity and subsequent indigenous art movement. While the seeds for contemplating an Egyptian national identity were sown under Khedive Isma'il, by the late nineteenth century a growing Egyptian intelligentsia—many of whom were educated in France—spearheaded debates around what it is to be an Egyptian.¹⁴ At the same time, the proliferation of newspapers and books triggered a literary *Nahda* that was

¹³ The evolving images of the *fallahin* in literary works from the late 19th century until the early twentieth-century Egyptian has been tackled by Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt*; and Michael Ezekiel Gaspar, *The Power of Representation Publics, Peasants, and Islam in Egypt*. Stanford (Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009). Major texts dealing with the *fallaha*'s representation in the fine arts relate to either Bartholdi's unrealized project for the Suez Canal project, or Mustafa's Kamil's monument and *Nahdat Misr*. They include Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, “Out of the Earth: Egypt's Statue of Liberty;” Beth Baron, *Egypt As a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 65-69; Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2004), 32-110149-160, 187-192.

¹⁴ Recent scholarship has brought in the narrative the agency of ordinary Egyptians in the construction of Egyptian national identity during this period, see Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*.

followed by an artistic one after the establishment of the School of Fine Arts in Cairo in 1908—which was modeled after the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris.

While examining Egyptian-French encounters in representing the *fallaha* at times evokes conventional binary oppositions, the historical evidence demands that we consider other realities. That is, these encounters were based on mutual exchange, with both the Egyptians and the French using what the other had for their own benefit. In some cases, these interactions resulted in building bridges and fostering deeper understanding between the two countries. French artists who traveled to Egypt on military and scientific expeditions, or in pursuit of work opportunities and new themes, saw in the *fallaha* a lucrative subject that could appeal to audiences back home, or in Egypt, as Bartholdi assumed. Egyptians who studied or visited France were impressed by the country's culture and ideas, and aspired to revitalize their homeland by adapting Western civilization to their local environment. Likewise, the first generation of Egyptian artists learned from the French art educational model and the art they saw in Paris, to create a quintessentially native representation of the nation in the figure of the *fallaha*.

The *Fallaha* in French Costume Books

Since ancient times the *fallah* ploughed, sowed, and harvested the land and the *fallaha* worked in the field during harvest—winnowing the grain or gathering the fallen ears of corn in baskets (fig. 68).¹⁵ Besides working in the field, the *fallaha* had to actively contribute to the economy of the household by raising chicken to sell or trade, milking the cows, making butter or

¹⁵ Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 120-21.

cheese and selling it in the market.¹⁶ She was also responsible for fetching water for the family. Thus, in modern times, the French actually encountered the *fallaha* in Egypt's countryside.¹⁷

The earliest known modern image of the *fallaha* appeared in the *Description de L'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* (Description of Egypt, or the Collected Observations and Research made in Egypt during the Expedition of the French Army), published between 1809 and 1828—a massive compendium portraying every aspect of the country, ancient and modern. This publication was the product of more than 160 *savants* or scholars, formally known as the *Commission des Sciences et des Arts*, who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte during his short-lived Egyptian campaign from 1798-1801. The first edition of the *Description* comprising twenty-four volumes (ten of text, thirteen of engraved plates, and one atlas) provided Europe with the first glimpse of Egypt's various ethnic and social types.¹⁸ The *fallaha* called *Woman of the People* by Nicolas-Jacques Conté (1755-1805) is shown carrying a jug over her head; her costume is described as consisting of drawers, a loose blue shirt with wide long sleeves reaching down to her hips that is cut in the middle revealing part of her breast, and her head covered with a *tarha* (head-cover) that she would at times draw across her face (fig. 69).¹⁹ The idealized image is seemingly staged against a backdrop of the pyramids. The attire shown in the image—which is surprisingly

¹⁶ Al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment: 1922-1936*, 22.

¹⁷ François de Chasseboeuf Volney claimed that the *fallahin*, whose physiognomy had not changed, preserved the original Arab conquerors, the first of Egypt's four races. *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desenne: Volland, 1787), vol. 1, 65-66. Cited in Grigsby, "Out of the Earth," 66 note 16.

¹⁸ The *Description de L'Égypte* contained more than eight hundred engravings with multiple illustrations bringing the total number of images to more than three thousand.

¹⁹ "État Moderne," vol. 2, *Description de L'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, (Paris : De L'imprimerie Royale, 1817), pl. A.

revealing for a conservative country like Egypt—conforms to that illustrated in Edward William Lane’s (1801–76)²⁰ influential book, *Manners & Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, first published in 1836 (fig. 70). It also became the prototype for later French nineteenth-century *fallaha* paintings and sculpture. Lane described the various costumes worn by “women of the lower orders” in different parts of Egypt as follows:

The dress of a large proportion of those women of the lower orders who are not of the poorest class consists of a pair of trousers or drawers [...] generally of plain white cotton or linen), a blue linen or cotton shirt, [...] reaching to the feet, a *burko*’ [face-veil] of a kind of coarse black crepe, and a dark blue *tarha* [head-veil] of muslin or linen. Some wear over the shirt, or instead of the latter, a linen *tob* [loose gown] [...]. The *burko*’ [face veil] and shoes are very common in Cairo. And are also worn by many of the women in Lower Egypt; but in Upper Egypt *burko*’ is seldom seen, and shoes are scarcely less uncommon. To supply the place of the former when necessary, a portion of the *tarhah* is drawn before the face so as to conceal all the countenance excepting one eye.²¹

The picturing of the various ethnic and social types of Egypt seen in the *Description* was part of a long-standing European tradition that sought to identify people and their roles in society, by classifying them according to their facial physiognomy and costume.²² The *fallaha*, however, particularly captured French attention. In an article published in 1838 in the *Magasin*

²⁰ The British scholar and Egyptologist, Edward William Lane lived in Egypt from 1825 to 1828, 1833 to 1835, and from 1842 to 1849. He published numerous books including *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* first published in 1836. For Lane’s biography, see Jason Thompson, *Edward William Lane, 1801-1876: The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2010).

²¹ Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 60-62.

²² Costume books of European and different cultures began to appear in the middle of the 16th-century in France, the first known one is by François Deserps, *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage tant ce pays d'Europe, d'Asie, d'Afrique et Illes sauvages, le tout fait apres le naturel* (Paris: Breton, 1562). See Ann Rosalind Jones, ‘Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book’, in *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France*, eds. Margaret Burlund, David La Guardia and Andrea Tarnowski, *Yale French Studies*, No. 110, (2006), 92-121.

Pittoresque, the *fallaha* was deemed “one of the most interesting types of women to study for her physical beauty, character, and moral disposition. There is no other woman on earth who has less prejudice, more tact, and skill in dealing with life”²³ And, she was praised for her “upright carriage and gait [...] owing doubtless, in a great measure to their habit of having a heavy earthen water vessel, and other burdens, upon their head.”²⁴

In 1848, Émile Prisse d’Avennes (1807-79) published in London an album of thirty Egyptian types with a descriptive text by James Augustus St. John (1795-1875), *Oriental Album: Characters and Modes of Life in the Valley of the Nile*.²⁵ An engineer, artist, writer, and Egyptologist, Prisse lived in Egypt for nineteen years (1827-44, and 1858-60), working first for Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha, as an engineer and teacher of topography at various military institutions, including Jihadabad Military Academy and Damietta’s School of Infantry. In 1836, he resigned his post to study the country’s ancient and Islamic architecture and monuments. Dressed in local clothes, speaking fluent Arabic, and calling himself “Idris-Effendi,” Prisse traveled throughout Egypt recording all what he saw.²⁶ It was George Lloyd of Brynestyn (1815-43), the Welsh

²³ « La fellah est un des typés de femme les plus intéressants à étudier, soit comme beauté physique, soit comme caractère et dispositions morales. Il n'est pas de femme sur la terre chez laquelle on trouve moins de préjugés, plus de tact et d'habileté dans les choses de la vie », in “La Femme Fellah,” *Magasin Pittoresque* (Paris, 1838), 182.

²⁴ Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 51.

²⁵ James Augustus St. John, and Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *Oriental Album: Characters, Costumes, and Modes of Life, in the Valley of the Nile*. London: J. Madden, 1848. Prisse’s drawings were reproduced by a variety of artists including Achille Divéria (1800-57). St. John, the British Orientalist, wrote several volumes on Egypt and Nubia.

²⁶ See Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *Arab Art, Arabische Kunst, L’Art arabe*, essay by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (Köln: Taschen, 2010); Maarten J. Raven, and Olaf E. Kaper, *Atlas of Egyptian Art* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007); George T. Scanlon, and Yasmeen Siddiqui. *Islamic Art in Cairo: From the Seventh to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007).

botanist who accompanied Prisse on one of his trips in Upper Egypt, who suggested the idea of creating an album depicting life along the Nile.²⁷

The *Oriental Album* offers idealized and picturesque illustrations of standard Egyptian types ranging from wealthy merchants, janissaries, and Abyssinians to Nubians, Bedouins, and peasants. The *Album* includes two of the most popular French nineteenth-century *fallaha* representations: a *fallaha* carrying her child on her shoulder (fig. 71) and another *fallaha* carrying a jug on her head (fig. 72). Both images—like all the others, however, are idealized and picturesque representations that do not portray the harsh realities of rural life. While the former’s costume conforms to Lane’s description of women of the lower orders who are not of the poorest class, St. John considered that the latter’s dress could not be authentic: “I have never seen them dressed in so strange and fantastic garment as that which is here represented.”²⁸ Some of his other comments also reveal what may seem as St. John’s prejudices of the country’s government and its people. For example, he described the *fallahin* children as “the least lovely anywhere to be seen.” And he added, “the child commonly dwindles, looks squalid, queer, and old fashioned; is attacked by ophthalmia, and left purposefully dirty that it may not attract the evil eye.”²⁹ As for the *fallaha*’s task of gathering water from the Nile, St. John wrote, “Were the country in the possession of a civilized government, means would be taken to provide every village with wells, and tanks, without which it is impossible that the inhabitants should ever enjoy natural health or

²⁷ Lloyd accompanied Prisse on one of his expeditions in Upper Egypt, where he tragically died in a shooting accident in 1843. Prisse dedicated his *Oriental Album* to his late friend. Prisse d’Avennes, Blair, Bloom, and St. John, *Arab Art*, 6.

²⁸ St. John, and Prisse d’Avennes, *Oriental Album*, 27.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

cultivate habits of cleanliness.”³⁰ Interestingly, as Briony Llewellyn and Mercedes Volait pointed out, a year before publishing his *Oriental Album*, Prisse wrote an article in *Magasin Pittoresque*,³¹ in which he featured some of the images and restated St. John’s perceptions of the *fallahin*’s children: “Nothing is more hideous than to see these nude children who have hardly been bathed during their life, and whose bleary eyelids are covered with flies,” but Prisse followed that remark by reiterating the French admiration for the *fallaha*’s beauty, “all of a sudden, almost without transition, we see these disgusting little monsters become beautiful men and charming young women.”³² However, it was not only the Europeans who disparaged the Egyptian peasants. ‘Abdullah al-Nadim (1845-96),³³ one of the first Egyptian intellectuals to write about the *fallahin* said “You *fallahin* do not know the difference between dirt and cleanliness [...] you leave your son in the dirt [...] until his eyes are full of discharge and his body is covered with mud [...] and flies cover his face.”³⁴ Clearly both descriptions echo a reality that existed—and which Nadim echoed in an effort to identify the ills of society that hindered progress and the civilization of the *fallahin*.

³⁰ Ibid., 28.

³¹ Briony Llewellyn and Mercedes Volait, review of *Arab Art, Arabische Kunst, L’Art arabe*, essay by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (Köln: Taschen, 2010): <http://www.astene.org.uk/emile-prisse-davennes-arab-art-arabische-kunst-lart-arabe-reviewed-by-briony-llewellyn-and-mercedes-volait/>. (Accessed 25 November 2015). For article see, ‘Les Classes Pauvres En Égypte,’ *Magasin Pittoresque* (Paris, 1847), 42-46, 83-85.

³² « Rien n’est plus hideux à voir ces enfants nus qui n’ont point été lavés de leur vie, et dont les paupières chassieuses sont continuellement assaillies par les mouches », and « et tout-à-coup, presque sans transitions, on voit ces dégoûtants petits monstres devenir de beaux hommes et de charmant jeunes filles ». Ibid., 43.

³³ ‘Abdallah al-Nadim, reformer, political activist, journalist, and playwright was of peasant stock. He published a number of journals, including *al-Tankit wa al-Tabkit* (Jesting and Censure) in 1881. After he returned from exile after the defeat of the ‘Urabi revolt, Nadim published *al-Ustadh* (The Teacher). On Nadim’s life, see Gilbert Delanoue, “Abdallah Nadim (1845-1896): Les idées politiques et morales d’un journaliste égyptien,” *Bulletin des études orientales* 17 (1961-1962), 75-120; Gasper, *The Power of Representation*, 62-107; and Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt*, 25-59.

³⁴ *Al-Ustadh*, 6 December 1892, 269.

Souvenirs d'Égypte published in 1851 by Alexandre Bida and Emile Prosper Barbot shares some similarities with *Oriental Album*, particularly the sentimental and picturesque depictions of Egyptian types. However, there are differences. The twenty-four lithographs are not totally devoted to costumes: twelve are topographic views by Barbot, and the remaining twelve are studies of characters and costumes of different Egyptians by Bida. What sets the *Souvenirs* apart, however, is the absence of narrative; the images are only identified in Arabic, French, and English.³⁵ Bida, a painter, and illustrator studied with Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), and exhibited Orientalist and biblical subjects at the Paris Salon from 1847 to 1894. He made four trips to the Middle East, including visits to Egypt in 1850 and in 1861.³⁶

Like Prisse, Bida included in his book the exceedingly popular images of the *fallaha* carrying her child (fig. 73) or carrying a water jug over her head (fig. 74). The latter image—titled *A Fallah Woman of Cairo*—standing in front of two fragments of capitals from an ancient Egyptian temple repeats the composition in the *Description* of an idealized *fallaha* and a Pharaonic motif—the two Egyptian elements that would represent modern Egyptian national identity in the early decades of the twentieth century. It was Bida's *fallaha* that inspired Landelle's famous 1866 painting *Fellah Woman*.

The *Fallaha* in French Paintings and Sculpture

Images of the *fallaha* proliferated in French Orientalist art in the 1860s and 1870s. A prime example is Léon Belly's (1827-77) *Fallaheen Women by the Nile* (1863, private

³⁵ Not all the images are by Alexandre Bida, twelve topographical views were by E. Barbot. Bida and Barbot, *Souvenirs d'Égypte*.

³⁶ For an overview of Bida's career, see "Alexandre Bida. Entre romantisme et orientalisme," *Art et métiers du livre* (297, 2001-2002), 28-33.

collection, fig. 75) that depicts women drawing water from the Nile, with one of them balancing the large water jar on the *fallaha*'s head. He produced the painting on his second visit to Egypt (1855-56), and described to his mother the studies he made: "Every evening, at about 4 o'clock, we go walking along the bank in Giseh [sic] to study the movements of the women who go to collect water [...] I can hardly ask them to pose, and I must remember almost everything. Once I am sure of the *animated movement*, I use a model for the arms and the hands, but for the movement, it is lost as soon as the model poses. A figure drawn this way and found is worth 100 made at the studio."³⁷ Charles-Émile-Hippolyte Lecomte-Vernet (1821-1900) depicted another popular image that recalls a Madonna and child, in his *Fallah Woman Carrying Her Child* (1864, Musée La-Roche-sur-Yon, fig. 76). There is no information of his travels to the Orient. However, he began exhibiting Orientalist themes from 1847.

Charles Landelle took a different approach, showing the *fallaha* placing her hand on a large amphora (see fig. 61). The painting was a sensation when it was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1866 and the following year at the Exposition Universelle. A studio creation, Landelle produced the work ten years before he visited Egypt.³⁸ According to the artist's nephew, Casimir Stryienski the painting was created "in the summer of 1865, during one of his [Landelle's] walks along the Norman coast in Étretat, the artist had an oriental vision. He saw a young farm servant woman who reminded him of the type of woman of the Nile that he only knew from his friend

³⁷ « Tous les soirs, à quatre heures, nous allons nous promener sur la rive de Giseh pour étudier les mouvements des femmes qui vont puiser l'eau ... Je ne puis guère faire poser, et il faut se rappeler presque tout. Une fois que je suis sur du *mouvement vivant*, je me sers du modèle pour des bras et des mains, mais pour le mouvement, on ne l'a plus juste sitôt qu'on le fait poser. Une figure dessinée ainsi et trouvée en vaut cent qu'on a ferait à l'atelier. » Letter from Belly to his mother, dated 1 June 1856, cited by Conrad de Mandach, "Léon Belly (1827-1877)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1913, p. 150).

³⁸ Landelle created an exact replica of the original 1866 painting that was destroyed at St. Cloud during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, which is in the Musée du Vieux-Château, Laval. For other replicas by Landelle, see Didier Pillon and Charles Schaettel, *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908: exposition rétrospective, 25 juin-13 septembre 1987* (Laval : Musée du Vieux-Château, 1987), 96-97.

Bida's drawing [...] He found the model—what remained was the costume; Bida [...] lent him a *fallah* woman costume.”³⁹ Stryienski explained that “Landelle composed the painting from his numerous studies that he made of the young peasant [...] as well as a model from Montmartre among others [...] creating the most authentic Oriental type he ever painted, even later when he went to Egypt.”⁴⁰

A pupil of Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) and Ary Scheffer (1795-1858) at the École des Beaux-Arts, Landelle began his career as a history painter, achieving success during the Second Empire. His *Fallah Woman* at the 1866 Paris Salon, where he also exhibited *An Armenian Woman* (Wallace Collection), was highly praised. About, however, was not as enthusiastic in his review of the two paintings, saying that “They depict beautiful people that are elegantly rendered. They are very successful, and I associate with those who find them charming. But, as they do not reveal anything new in Landelle's talent, I salute them and I pass.”⁴¹ Landelle, however, had already left Paris with the French mission to Fez in Morocco under the direction of Baron Aymé d'Aquin.⁴² His wife relished her husband's success, and she was the one who astutely negotiated the sale of the painting. According to Stryienski, many people were interested

³⁹ « C'était durant l'été de 1865, au bord de la Manche, à Étretat, Au cours d'une de ses promenades journalières dans la campagne normande mon oncle eut une apparition orientale. Il vit venir à lui une jeune servante de ferme: elle réalisait, en son imagination, le type des femmes du Nil qu'il ne connaissait que par les dessins de son ami Bida [...] Le modèle était trouvé—le costume ferait le reste; Bida possédait une robe de fellah et la mit à la disposition de mon oncle ». Casimir Stryienski, *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908* (Paris : Émile-Paul, 1911), 71.

⁴⁰ « Landelle emporta à Paris plusieurs études faites d'après la tête de la paysanne ; d'autres modelés, l'un de Montmartre entre autres [...] à créer le type le plus oriental qu'ait jamais peint l'artiste, même plus tard quand il alla en Egypte [...] » Ibid., 72.

⁴¹ « *La Georgienne* de M. Landelle, et sa *Femme fellah*, sont deux jolies personnes très élégamment ajustées. Elles ont beaucoup du succès, et je m'associe de grand cœur à ceux qui les trouvent charmantes. Mais comme elles ne m'apprennent rien de nouveau sur le talent de M. Landelle, je salue et je passe ». Edmond About, *Salon de 1866* (Paris : L. Hachette, 1867), 168.

⁴² Stryienski, *Charles Landelle*, 73.

in buying the painting, among them the art dealers, Vincent van Gogh (1820-88) and Adolphe Goupil (1839-83). But Mme. Landelle agreed to the terms offered by Count Alfred de Nieuwerkerke, who asked to acquire it for the personal collection of Napoleon III.⁴³ She also relayed to her husband the rave reviews it received, and wrote him that she had received many letters about the painting. The most interesting was from Jules Janin, who wrote, “[t]he *Fallah Woman* is going from success to success. One of our friends. Mme. Frédéric Poiret has implored me to ask you if you can make her a copy (at your convenience) of this happy lady. If you find this proposition acceptable, here it is: three thousand francs.”⁴⁴ Could it be her dreamy-eyed look that made her a “happy lady” in Mme. Poiret’s eyes? Or perhaps Landelle’s idealized *fallaha* could have conjured the simplicity of rural life that so many Parisians longed for in the wake of industrialization and rapid pace of city life? Between 1866 and 1885, Landelle would execute 23 copies earning him the nickname “Painter of the *fallahin*.”⁴⁵

When Landelle’s *fallaha* painting was exhibited at the 1867 Exposition, the writer Alfred Assollant (1827-86) gave it a lengthy review in *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée: Publication Internationale autorisée par la Commission Imperiale*:

She could be a sultana or a peasant [...] Her pride is evident—and her ignorance as well. What is lacking in this woman, otherwise so beautiful is thought. From this characteristic one recognizes a race that will die [...] Certain painters and poets of this century have much admired the fatalistic mobility of the figures of the Orient [...] To move, even by chance, is to live. He who remains immobile is already dead and wants little more. This is

⁴³ Ibid., 78. Pillon and Schaettel, *Charles Landelle, 1821–1908*, 96.

⁴⁴ « [L]a *femme fellah* va de conquête en conquête. Une dame de nos amies, M^{me} Frédéric Poiret, m’a prié de vous demander si vos vouliez lui faire une copie (à vos heures) de cette heureuse dame. Et, trouvant que la proposition était acceptable, la voici : Trois mille franc ». Ibid., 79.

⁴⁵ Pillon and Schaettel, *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908*, 96

why the Orient that nothing agitates has long been a prey to the first comer [...] An entire destiny of a people is traced in a few brushstrokes on this woman.⁴⁶

While Assollant perceived in Landelle's *fallaha* "pride," "ignorance," and "immobility," the American art historian Edward Strahan—who wrote under the pseudonym Earl Shinn—slightly made similar comments nine years later on an engraving of the same painting at the Philadelphia's International Exhibition in 1876 (fig. 77). He wrote that the glance of this "Egyptian goddess" is "suggestive of innumerable generations of servitude or unalleviated toil, and that she "even like the Egypt of our dreams, is motionless."⁴⁷ There is no doubt that Assollant's and Strahan's perception of the Orient's stasis and immobility through an idealized French model posing as a bejeweled, clean and polished peasant, who also conveys "ignorance" and "servitude" could be taken as one of the "Orientalist attitudes" that Edward Said has emphasized. Yet, it is important to remember that accounts of the *fallahin*'s ignorance and backwardness, as well as their need to be reformed, also appeared in the Egyptian press and literature beginning in the 1870s.

Charles Cordier, the famous ethnographic sculptor exhibited four sculptures of the *Fallaha* at the Exposition that year. They included a bust of a life-size torchère of *Fallah Woman* or *Egyptian Woman with pitcher on her head* (fig. 78); *Young Fallah Woman in Harem Dress*;

⁴⁶ « Elle pourrait-être aussi bien sultane que paysanne. La fierté est égale des deux parts,—et l'ignorance aussi. Ce qui manque dans cette femme, d'ailleurs si belle, c'est la pensée. A ce trait on reconnaît une race qui va périr [...] Certains peintres et poètes de ce siècle ont beaucoup admiré l'immobilité fataliste des figures d'Orient [...] S'agiter, même au hasard, c'est vivre. Qui demeure immobile est déjà mort ou ne vaut guère mieux. C'est pourquoi l'Orient que rien n'agite est depuis longtemps la proie du premier venu [...] Toute destin d'un peuple est tracé en quelques coups de pinceau sur cette figure de femme ». Alfred Assollant, "La Femme Fellah de M. Landelle," *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustré: Publication Internationale autorisée par la Commission Imperiale* (Paris: 106 Rue Richelieu, 1867), ii, 115-16i.

⁴⁷ Edward Strahan, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition Illustrated* (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie, 1876), 180.

Young Fallah Woman in Harem Dress reduction, which received an award;⁴⁸ and one of his ten mannequins of ethnographic types who welcomed visitors to the industrial and agricultural section in the Egyptian pavilion (see fig. 63).⁴⁹ Fascinated with the new field of ethnography, Cordier dedicated the majority of his works to the representation of various types of people, such as Algerian, Abyssinian, Chinese, Egyptian, Nubian, Turkish, etc. After studying with François Rude (1784-1855), Cordier made his debut at the Salon of 1848, and from 1851 to 1886, he worked at the Museum of Natural History as its official ethnographic sculptor. He got government grants for missions in Algeria (1856), Greece (1858), and Egypt (1866, 1868) to record the different human types. He, in company with several anthropologists were, concerned that “the day [would come] when the forces of the universe could cause a merging of the races.”⁵⁰ But aside from documenting racial differences, Cordier’s main goal was to search for beauty: “Sail up the Nile, choose Copts, or Abyssinians [...] I wish to present the race just as it is in its own beauty, absolutely true to life, with its passions, its fatalism, in its quiet pride and conceit, in its fallen grandeur, but the principals which remained since antiquity.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ Cordier exhibited his sculpture in a number of sections at the Exposition. *Fallah Woman* or *Egyptian Woman, with pitcher on her head*, and *Young Fallah Woman in Harem Dress* (reduction) were displayed in Group III, class 14: Luxury Furnishings—where he had his own booth entitled “Charles Cordier, 115 boulevard Saint-Michel, Sculpture ethnographique et decorative.” *Young Fallah Woman in Harem Dress* was exhibited in Group 1, class 3, and was among other awarded works, however Cordier’s name is not on the list of winners. Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, *Facing the Other*, 136, 232-33.

⁴⁹ Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle de 1867*, 341-43. The mannequins were: untitled female (possibly *Grande dame*) ; *Danseuse*; *Abyssinienne*; *Nègresse*; *Paysanne*; *Cheikh-el-Beled*; *Marchand ordinaire* ; *Paysan* ; *Saïs kemchaguy* (ou *coureur qui précède les voitures*) ; *Nègre*. See also Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 2, 16.

⁵⁰ Excerpt from Cordier’s letter to Count Nieuwerkerke on November 18, 1865. Archives Nationales, Paris F21 72, as quoted in Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, *Facing the Other*, 28, 30 note 43.

⁵¹ Excerpt from Cordier’s letter to Count Nieuwerkerke on November 18, 1865. In Archives Nationales, Paris F21 72, as quoted in *ibid.*, 28, 30 note 44.

True to his documentary goals, Cordier initially strove for exactitude of types, but by the 1860s, he began to embrace a more decorative style that catered to the Western appetite for an exotic Orient. This “decorative reconversion”⁵² can be seen in the numerous sculptures he produced during his stay in Egypt, such as *Fallah Woman Going to Draw Water from the Nile* (fig. 79), which recalls picturesque images like Bida’s *fallaha* in *Souvenir d’Égypte* (see fig. 74), and those exhibited at the Exposition. The “naturalized” Frenchman, Charles Edmond who was the commissioner general of the Egyptian display at the Paris exhibition, and author of *L’Égypte à l’Exposition universelle de 1867*, praised Cordier’s *fallaha* in the Egyptian pavilion: “The *fallah* woman, ravishingly beautiful in her innate elegance, demeanor, and clever vivacity, returns from the bank of the Nile, carrying on her head a large vase coquettishly tilted towards her ear, and in the palm of her hand drawn up to her shoulder, a smaller vase.”⁵³ Both Edmond and Assollant saw the *fallaha*’s beauty, yet their perception of her demeanor sharply differed: Edmond perceived “vivacity” in Cordier’s sculpture while Assollant saw ignorance in Landelle’s painting. In appreciation of Cordier’s work, apparently Isma‘il gave him—either elements of the structure or all of it—the *salamlik* or (small palace) that was erected at the Exposition, which Cordier then moved and rebuilt in Orsay as his “Moorish Villa” or *Villa Mauresque* (fig. 80).

The other *fallaha* representation in the Egyptian display at the Universal Exposition was a large painting by an unidentified artist that was hung in the Suez Canal pavilion (see fig. 63). The painting depicting a *fallaha* over her head while carrying a child hung prominently on the walls of this square hall which displaying the work and models of Ferdinand de Lesseps’s work on the Suez Canal, then under construction, in addition to minerals, shells, and plants from the

⁵² Ibid., 72. The phrase “decorative reconversion” is not referenced in the book.

⁵³ Edmond, *L’Égypte à l’exposition universelle de 1867*, 238. As quoted in Grigsby, *Colossal*, 67.

original site. The *fallahin*, as discussed in Chapter 2, had played an important role in the Suez Canal construction project (fig. 81).

The popularity of *fallaha* images in Paris was perhaps one of the factors that influenced Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi in 1869 to submit to Khedive Isma‘il a clay model and watercolor of a lighthouse in the shape of the *fallaha* (representing Egypt) to be erected at the entrance of the Suez Canal. His proposed monument depicting the *fallaha* holding a torch upward— \recalling the *Colossus of Rhodes*, would be called "Egypt Enlightening Asia."⁵⁴ Executed between 1867 and 1869, Bartholdi produced a number of clay models (fig. 82) that were inspired by the many on-site drawings and photographs he brought back from his 1855 trip Egypt, with Jean Léon-Gérôme—where he had stayed for eight months. However, as mentioned earlier, networking was imperative in soliciting commissions. On 23 March 1869, Bartholdi wrote to Count de Nieuwerkerke describing his monument “representing Egypt in the form a *fallaha* carrying the torch of civilization; its proportions would be related to the [illegible] of the land of the Pharaohs,” adding that the Emperor and Empress saw the project “with great interest,” when it was presented to them on 21 March.⁵⁵ Three days later, the Count wrote to Isma‘il that Bartholdi, “a grand talent” wishes to present his project to him, which he believes will be greatly satisfactory.”⁵⁶ Bartholdi also tried to enlist de Lesseps’s support.⁵⁷ Despite all his efforts and

⁵⁴ According to Bartholdi, when he presented his project to Ismail, the latter looked with interest and said “that he would prefer to see the lighthouse apparatus head on her head in the manner of fallah women.” Grigsby, “Out of the Earth: Egypt’s Statue of Liberty,” 59.

⁵⁵ « [R]eprésentant l’Egypte sous la forme d’une femme fellah portant le flambeau du la civilisation ; ses proportions serraient en rapport avec la grande Audition du pays des Pharaons ». Letter from Bartholdi to Count de Nieuwerkerke, signed and dated 23 March 1869. DWQ, *Mukatabat khasa bi insha‘a alfanarat fi al mawani* (Letters Concerning the Construction of Lighthouses in the Ports), 5013-00302.

⁵⁶ Letter from Count de Nieuwerkerke to Isma‘il, signed and dated 26 March 1869. Ibid.

⁵⁷ Grigsby, “Out of the Earth,” 58-59.

after meeting with the Khedive, the project was rejected, but, according to Bartholdi, Isma‘il kept the sketch in his palace. In her article “Out of the Earth: Egypt’s Statue of Liberty”, Grigsby pointed out that Bartholdi’s claim that the Khedive turned down his design for lack of funds “may have played a decisive role,” but, that Isma‘il may not have liked it aesthetically, especially compared to Cordier’s *fallaha* at the Egyptian pavilion in Paris.⁵⁸ The latter’s coy and seductive *fallaha* contrasts sharply with Bartholdi’s statue, which recalls ancient Egyptian monumental sculpture in its symmetry and rigid immobility.⁵⁹ Donald Reid noted that the Khedive’s attitude towards ancient Egyptian art was ambiguous; he attended the inauguration of the Bulaq Museum of Antiquities on October 16, 1863, but he would not enter the building.⁶⁰ According to the French Egyptologist and director general of excavations and antiquities for the Egyptian government, Gaston Maspero (1846 -1916),⁶¹ “Like the true Oriental he [Isma‘il] was, the horror and fright which he had for death kept him from entering an edifice containing mummies. While the ceremony took place inside, he remained in the gardens, amusing himself with the grimaces of the apes and the gamboling of Finette, the archeologist’s [Auguste Mariette] gazelle.”⁶² Bartholdi’s proposed monument for the Suez Canal was not the only one. Another unrealized monument was the *Temple of Peace*, in the shape of a pyramid surrounded by allegorical figures and four sphinxes by Faustin Glavany (1829-79), an Ottoman of Levantine heritage, and

⁵⁸ Ibid., 66-67.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 58, 60.

⁶⁰ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 107.

⁶¹ In 1880 Maspero went to Egypt as the head of an archeological mission—known as the École française du Caire, which in 1892 became the Institut français et archeologie orientale du Caire. He succeeded Auguste Mariette as director general of excavations and antiquities for the Egyptian government from 1881 to 1886.

⁶² Gaston Maspero, “Mariette (1821-1881): “Notice biographique,” in Auguste Mariette, *Oeuvres diverses*, cxi (Paris, 1904). Quoted in Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* 107, 329 note 38.

“Secretary of the Sultan’s embassy” (fig. 83).⁶³ Although the pharaonic elements in both monuments may have influenced Isma‘il’s decision, I doubt that this was the primary reason for the Khedive’s rejection. Rather I believe that he may have thought that Bartholdi’s *fallaha* and Glavany’s *Temple of Peace* were not “modern” and as impressive as the lighthouse designed by François Cogniet (1814-88), which was put into service one week before the ceremonies in November 1869 (fig. 84 a, b).⁶⁴ In its time, this lighthouse was a modern architectural feat, as the Tour Eiffel would later be for Paris. Built in the shape of an octagonal tower, it used the latest innovations of electric light and technology of reinforced concrete.⁶⁵ Measuring 56 meters high, it was also the tallest lighthouse in Africa. Finally, though Isma‘il paid Edmond About twenty-five thousand francs for the novel *Le fellah*,⁶⁶ and called himself the “prince of *fallahin*,” no doubt for the reforms that he had made in the realm of agriculture, he may not have been ready for a *fallaha* to be a political symbol of the nation. Like his grandfather, Isma‘il bolstered the agricultural sector. He extended the cultivation of cotton during the American Civil War, and later introduced the cultivation of sugar-cane to replace the decline in the demand for cotton; he also improved irrigation systems. The reforms, however, mainly benefitted a growing class of native Egyptian landowners and not the *fallahin*, who for the most part were landless. Those who

⁶³ Leon Creil, “Un grand moment commémoratif,” *L’Illustration, journal universel* (23 November 1867), 336. See also Krieser, *Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt*, 105; and Bräuner, “Les représentations du Canal de Suez,” 367-68.

⁶⁴ Claudine Piaton, “Les phares d’Égypte : laboratoire et conservatoire de l’ingénierie européenne du XIX^e siècle,” *ABE Journal* [online], 5 (2014): <https://abe.revues.org/704> (Accessed 31 August 2017).

⁶⁵ Today, the lighthouse is no longer useful, as it has been pushed inland through the gradual silting of the port. Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte, Jamal Ghiṭani, Naguib Amin, Raymond Collet, and Arnaud du Boistesselin, *Port-Saïd: architectures XIXe-XXe siècles* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2006), 318.

⁶⁶ Letter dated February 19, 1869 from Nubar Pasha to Khedive Isma‘il’s secretary. DWQ, *Asr Isma‘il, Murasala Bikhousous Al Manshoura Fi Ehda Miglat Le Monde ‘Ala Masr Bi ‘Enwan ‘Ahmad Al Fallah* (Isma‘il’s Palace, Article on Egypt in the journal *Le Monde* titled Ahmad the Peasant), 5013-002705.

were able to hang on to small plots of land fell into debt, because of the taxes imposed by the government.⁶⁷ It is also important to remember the elite perception of the *fallahin* at that time, which must have been shared by the Khedive. The *fallaha*'s rise to become a symbol of the Egyptian nation would fall to a growing Egyptian urban intelligentsia whose members were engaged in debating issues of national identity.

The *Fallaha* and the Egyptian Search for National Identity

While the *fallaha* continued to interest French artists in the late nineteenth century,⁶⁸ it would take over thirty-five years from Bartholdi's unrealized project of 1869 until the *fallaha* would embody the Egyptian nation in a monument. This period was also a turning point in Egypt's history. By the 1860s, the modernizing reforms initiated by Muhammad 'Ali earlier in the century reached their peak during Isma'il's reign. As a state with *de facto* autonomy, Egypt experienced socio-economic growth, the spread of higher education, demographic changes resulting from rapid rural-urban migration, and finally the emergence of an educated native elite. Many of these benefitted from an expanding educational system that enabled a segment of the *fallahin* to reach the highest ranks attainable by officers not of Turkish origin.⁶⁹ However, the

⁶⁷ Gabriel Baer, "Social Change in Egypt: 1800-1914," in *Political Thought and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, ed. P.M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 140-41.

⁶⁸ For example, Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Fallah Woman Drawing Water* (1873-75, The Clark Museum); Felix Clement (1826-88) *Women Selling Water and Oranges on the Road to Heliopolis* (1872, Musée des Beaux- Arts, Nice); William Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905) *Young Girl Fallah* (1876, private collection); Léon Bonnat (1833-1922), *An Egyptian Peasant Woman and her Child* (1869-70, Metropolitan Museum of Art); Emile Bernard, *Drawing Water on the banks of the Nile* (1895, private collection).

⁶⁹ On the transformation of elites in Egypt, see Baron, "The Making of the Egyptian Nation," 137-158.

economic and political crisis resulting in government spending cuts, Isma‘il’s demise, and the British occupation led to increasing public dissatisfaction.

It was during this period that Egyptian intellectuals and reformers became increasingly preoccupied with political, religious, and social reform. Their calls for reform and renewal were aimed at civilizing society by appropriating innovations from modern Western civilization while reconsidering their own identity.⁷⁰ This intellectual group including Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi and ‘Ali Mubarak, along with Islamic reformers, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-97)⁷¹ and Muhammad ‘Abduh, together with other members of a burgeoning Egyptian middle class or *‘afandiya*.⁷² The new reform ideas were influenced by nineteenth-century European social theorists like Herbert Spencer (whose theories of evolution presented social Darwinism) and Gustave Le Bon (especially his 1889 work *Les premières civilisations* which emphasizes that nations possess their distinctive personality, whose “dominant character” is derived from its ancestors, and is determined by its psychological and physical milieu.⁷³

There were mixed attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire during the 1870s and 1880s.

Al Tahtawi, who was instrumental in propagating the idea of *watan* (nation, derived from the

⁷⁰ Egypt has a multifaceted historical heritage—including ancient Egyptian/Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Mamluk, Arab, Islamic, Copt, and Ottoman. The latter who ruled Egypt since 1516—although Egypt became increasingly autonomous over the course of the nineteenth century—themselves comprised multiple ethnicities (Albanians, Circassians, Georgians, Bosnians, and others). The Ottomans were often referred to as Turks.

⁷¹ Considered to be the founding father Islamic modernism, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, impressed by the ideas of French statesman and historian, François Guizot, he prompted the translation of the latter’s book *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (1828) in Arabic in 1877. For an overview of al-Afghani’s intellectual contributions, see Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 103-129; and Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image*, 167-195.

⁷² Having been educated in secular schools that were begun under Muhammad Ali, this class of technocrats known as *‘afandiya* were increasingly recruited to fill administrative positions as the state grew.

⁷³ On Darwin’s influence in the Arab World, see Marwa El-Shakry Darwin’s *Legacy in the Arab East: Science, Religion and Politics: 1870-1914*, Princeton University D.Phil. Thesis (2003). On Gustave Le Bon’s influence, Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 122-125; and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 134.

French *patrie*) espoused both views of a community tied by its Islamic faith, and an Egyptian nation defined territory. Thus, while he was a proponent of continued allegiance to the Ottomans, he was perhaps the first to emphasize the country's historic ties to the Pharaohs, and the relationship between the Egyptian national character to their ancient predecessors: "the physical constitution of the people of these times is exactly that of the people of times past, and their disposition is one and the same."⁷⁴ It was also at this point in time that the role of the peasant class in the project of national renaissance (*Nahda*) began to gain importance. Accordingly, the *fallahin*, who constituted the majority of the population, and were the main agricultural producers, had to become civilized. Education would be the only path to liberate them from their backwardness and make them eligible citizens in the modern Egyptian nation.⁷⁵

Ya'qub Sannu' and 'Abdallah al-Nadim, both disciples of al-Afghani and supporters of the 'Urabi revolt were the first to represent the country's peasant majority in the newspapers they created in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Sannu' criticized Egypt's rulers and the British occupation—featuring at times a witty, rebellious, or oppressed *fallahin* in his satirical newspaper *Abu Nazzara Zarqa* (The Man with the Blue Glasses). After he was exiled to Paris for criticizing the Khedive in 1878, Sannu' continued to publish his journal, highlighting Egyptian nationalist causes, and urging the British to withdraw.⁷⁶ On the other hand, Nadim—

⁷⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁵ Based on studies of Indian nationalism, such as by Partha Chatterjee, Gasper argues that the "the representations of peasants were essential in legitimating and lending authority to the social ambitions and the political position of what became the [Egyptian] nationalist elite." Gasper, *The Power of Representation*, 5. See Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007).

⁷⁶ Ziad Fahmy, "Francophone Egyptian Nationalists, Anti-British Discourse, and European Public Opinion, 1885 – 1910: The Case of Mustafa Kamil and Ya'qub Sannu'," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 28: 1 (2008): 170-183.

interested in reforming or civilizing the peasant class—highlighted the peasants’ misery and shortcomings and presented a backward and ignorant *fallah* in his short-lived paper *al-Tankit wa al-Tabkit* (Jesting and Censure). In the 1890s, Nadim featured a *fallaha* character for the first time, in his new paper *al-Ustadh* (The Professor).⁷⁷ That Nadim featured a *fallaha* in his journal may not be surprising, as women’s social status was receiving increased attention. In 1892, Hind Nawfal was the first woman to publish a newspaper for women entitled *al-Fata* (The Young Woman); other papers followed it.⁷⁸ The French-educated Qasim Amin (1865-1908),⁷⁹ considered to be Egypt’s feminist founding father, advocated the education of girls and loosening some of the social restrictions on middle-class urban women in his seminal work, *The Liberation of Women* (1899). Amin cited peasant women as an example of having achieved a degree of liberation from the “stultifying conditions of near imprisonment” of woman in middle-class urban homes.”⁸⁰ The *fallaha* was also featured in the masthead of an 1899 Arabic magazine for children in which she points her children to the “The Light of Knowledge,” which gleams on the pyramids and Sphinx, as Khedive Abbas II (r. 1892-1914), and four reformers and educators—including al Tahtawi, Mubarak, Mahmud al-Falki (1815-

⁷⁷ This article was part of a column entitled “*Madrasat al Banat*” (The Girls’ School). It describes a dialogue between *Sitt al-Balad* (countrywoman) and *Sitt al-Bandar* (Townswoman) who had moved to the city about the merits of becoming civilized, namely through adopting the customs of city life and imitating its women. *Al-Ustadh* (6 December 1892), 369-375. See also Gasper, *The Power of Representation: Publics, Peasants, and Islam in Egypt*, 123-127.

⁷⁸ For a study of women’s journals in Egypt from 1892 until 1919, see Beth Baron, *The Women’s Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁷⁹ Qasim Amin came from the upper echelons of Egyptian society. He was educated in Cairo and obtained a law degree in France, and became a strong advocate of women’s emancipation. He published numerous books including *Tahrir al-Mar’a* (The Liberation of Women, 1899) and *al-Mar’a al-Jadida* (The New Woman, 1900).

⁸⁰ Gasper, *The Power of Representation*, 192. From “*Kalimat ‘an al mar’aa al-quruwiya al-yum* (Words about the Village Women Today),” *al Rai’d al-Uthmani* (6 September 1906), 2, *Ibid.*, 256 n 44.

85), and ‘Abdallah Fikry (1834-90)—frame the scene (fig. 85).”⁸¹ Another illustration of the *fallaha* appeared in the French language monthly review, *Le Lotus* published in Egypt in 1901, which interestingly combined visual references to Pharaonic and Islamic Egypt (fig. 86).⁸²

But it was the Dinshaway incident in 1906⁸³ that marked a defining moment in the emergence of the nationalist movement, and the evolution of the *fallaha* in the discourse of national identity. Peasant women came to be featured prominently in Egyptian literary works. Mahmud Tahir Haqqi’s (1884 -1964) ‘*Adra’ Dinshaway* (The Maiden of Dinshawy)⁸⁴ was published in 1906, followed by *Zaynab* by Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888-1956), which he published under the pseudonym name *Masri Fallah* (Egyptian Peasant) in 1913. Both novels and others that followed, represented the *fallaha* as a model of freedom, and equality, the vision articulated earlier by Amin in his book *Women’s Liberation*.

The *Fallaha* Embodies Egypt

In the visual arts, the *fallaha* came to symbolize the Egyptian nation as she was included in a monument commemorating the Egyptian nationalist leader and founder of the Nationalist

⁸¹ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* 6-7.

⁸² Alexandra de Avierino, ed., *Le Lotus* (Avril 1901-Mars1902).

⁸³ On June 13, 1906, a group of British soldiers stopped in the village of Dinshaway to hunt for pigeons, which was their local source of livelihood. After accidentally wounding a *fallaha* and setting fire to a barn, a fight ensued between, and a British soldier was wounded and died of sunstroke. The British set up a tribunal that convicted fifty-two villagers, four of whom were executed and many whipped in front of the villagers.

⁸⁴ Haqqi served as secretary in the khedival court and later in the National Theatre. He also wrote a number of plays, short stories, and journalistic essays. His ‘*Adra’ Dinshaway* reconstructs the dramatic events that occurred in Dinshaway.

party, Mustafa Kamil.⁸⁵ A product of a growing middle class, Kamil was the son of an army officer “whose forefathers were Egyptian *fallahin*.”⁸⁶ He had had a secular education in Egypt—benefitting from the schools Isma‘il established—and also in France before becoming a national hero, who was instrumental in publicizing Egypt’s call for Britain’s withdrawal and vocalizing the Dinshaway incident in both Egypt and Europe through his speeches and writings.⁸⁷ Like al-Tahtawi, Kamil supported allegiance to both the Ottoman Empire and to his country,⁸⁸ constantly praising the role of ancient Egypt that “witnessed the birth of all [other] nations, and brought forth civilization and culture for the whole human race”⁸⁹

After Kamil’s early death in 1908, a committee raised funds to create a memorial for him.⁹⁰ As the School of Fine Arts opened only that year in Cairo, the committee turned to the French sculptor Léopold Savine (1861-1934) to produce the bronze statue. The statue shows

⁸⁵ Mustafa Kamil was educated in government schools, the French Law School in Cairo, and was sponsored by Abass II (r. 1892-1914) to obtain his law degree from the University of Toulouse in 1894. In 1900, he founded the newspaper of *al-Liwa* (The Standard), and in 1907, he founded the Nationalist Party (*al-hizb al wattani*), and launched two foreign language newspapers, with the same title, *L’Etendard égyptien* and *The Egyptian Standard*. Kamil, a charismatic orator stirred the Egyptians, and tirelessly travelled all over Europe presenting what he called the “Egyptian Question,” calling for freedom and independence. Foundational texts on Kamil include Abdel Rahman al-Rafi’i, *Mustafa Kamil: Bai’t al-Haraka al-Wataniyya, 1892-1908* (Mustafa Kamil, The Transmitter of the National Movement), 5th ed. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda, 1962); and ‘Alī Fahmī Kāmil, *Mustafā Kāmil Bāshā fī thalāthah wa-arba‘īn rabī‘ann sīratuhu wa-a‘māluhu min khuṭab wa-aḥādīth wa-rasā’il sīyāsīyah wa-‘umrānīyah*. 9 vols. (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Liwā’, 1908-11).

⁸⁶ Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 218.

⁸⁷ Kamil spent every summer between 1895 and 1907 in France, and he established many contacts in the French press, including Juliette Adam, editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, as well as with the novelist Pierre Loti. For Kamil’s European activities. See Fahmy, “Francophone Egyptian Nationalists.”

⁸⁸ Mustafa Kamil saw no conflict between his support for Egyptian nationalism, Pan-Islamism, and allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, who could help the Egyptians to end British occupation. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 6-7.

⁸⁹ Al-Rafi’i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 485. Cited in Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image*, 267.

⁹⁰ The committee consisted of Muhammad Farid, Muhammad Elwy, Hassan Abdel Razek, Mahmud Abu Al Nasr, Morcos Hanna, Wissa Wassef, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, Youssef Seddik, Elias Awad, Fouad Selim, Abdel Aziz Fahmy, Omar Sultan, Ahmad Abdel Latif. They also oversaw the project. *Ibid.*, 296.

Mustafa Kamil stepping forward, dressed in typical upper-class attire—European frock coat and *tarbush*—placing his left hand on top of a Sphinx bust evoking Egypt’s glorious past, and pointing down with his right hand to the pedestal of the statue, where a bronze relief shows a seated *fallaha*—representing Egypt—with her hair covered, but her face unveiled, as she listens to the speaker, and beckons with her right hand to the world to listen to the Egyptian national hero’s call for independence (see fig. 66).⁹¹ As noted by Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, Kamil’s pose (fig. 87) is closely similar to that of Auguste Mariette’s statue in his native Boulougne-sur-Mer (unveiled 16 July 1882, fig. 88) by the sculptor Alfred Jacquemart.⁹² Placed on a stone pyramid flanked by two sphinxes, the bronze statue of Mariette shows him also dressed in a frock coat and *tarbush*, and resting his hand on the head of Isis—symbolizing the Egyptologist’s life profession and passion. In their similarities, the two monuments are emblematic of the complex dynamic of French-Egyptian encounters that continued long after the French occupation ended. Kamil and Mariette would continue to cross borders. Kamil actively conducted his campaign against the British occupation through his articles and speeches in France—where he spent every summer from 1895 until his death. Mariette, on the other hand, decided to work and remain in Egypt for the rest of his life, and significantly contributed to writing about ancient Egypt. While Mariette’s statue in France underscored the French monopoly over Egyptology, we can see that of Kamil in Egypt reclaimed Egyptian ownership of its ancient glorious civilization.

⁹¹ Ibid., 296. See also, Baron, *Egypt As a Woman*, 65-66; and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 157.

⁹² Ibid., 160 n 30. On the monument of Auguste Mariette, see Musée des beaux-arts de Calais. *De Carpeaux à Matisse: la sculpture française de 1850 à 1914 dans les musées et les collections publiques du Nord de la France* (Lille: Édition de l'Association des conservateurs de la région Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1982), 297-298.

Best known for his Orientalist female sculptures, Savine studied with Antoine Injalbert (1845-1933) at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He made his debut at the Société des Artistes Français Salon in 1888, and obtained an honorable mention in 1892, and a bronze medal in the 1900 Universal Exposition.⁹³ Although the nature of the commission is as yet untraced, what is known is that Savine displayed the plaster of Kamil's statue at the Salon of 1910, number 4091.⁹⁴ The monument was cast at the Fondateur d'Art with René Fulda in Paris, and its entire cost including transportation, was 2,120 Egyptian pounds.⁹⁵ It arrived in Egypt in 1914—the year Egypt became a formal British Protectorate ending Ottoman sovereignty. As Kamil's Nationalist Party had fallen out of favor, both the British and Khedive Abbas II (r. 1892-1914) barred its public exhibition. Instead, the monument stood in the courtyard of the Mustafa Kamil School, where, as Abdel Rahman al-Rafi'i wrote, it stayed “a prisoner [...] for twenty-four years.”⁹⁶ In 1938, the monument was moved to Suarès Square, renamed Mustafa Kamil Square, in downtown Cairo and two years later, on 14 May 1940 it was unveiled in a spectacular ceremony by King Faruk.

The *fallaha* in Kamil's monument is the first known representation of the Egyptian nation as a peasant woman. But, why the *fallaha*? The idea of representing the nation as a woman, was of course not new. Beth Baron has written about the subject, pointing out that Egypt was represented by a variety of types of women from the 1870s: “young or old, healthy

⁹³ Stéphane Richemond, and Denise Grouard, *Les orientalistes : dictionnaire des sculpteurs, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris : L'Amateur, 2008), 199.

⁹⁴ « Savine, (Léopold) né à Paris élève de M. Ingalbert – Ville Montmorency, avenue de sycomores, 7. No. 4091 : Monument de Moustapha Pacha a Kamel, chef et fondateur du Parti National, élevé au Caire par son éruption nationale. Le monument comprend : ‘La Jeune Egypte,’ haut-relief plâtre et trois bas-reliefs esquisses 1. L’ancienne Egypte – 2. L’Egypte arabe – Lecteur du journal le Lewa fondé par Pacha Kamel », 360.

⁹⁵ Al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 296.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 298.

or ailing, urban or rural, Pharaonic or Islamic,” but by the 1920s the most prevailing types of women were the *fallaha* in art and the “new woman” (woman in urban clothing) in cartoons.⁹⁷ As Baron noted, the idea of representing Egypt as a woman could have been influenced by the French examples of female figures representing Liberty—whom the French came to call Marianne, and which first appeared on the seal of the first Republic in the guise of a classical woman holding in her right hand a scepter surmounted by Phrygian hat (fig. 89).⁹⁸ A more compelling argument, however, is the female gendering of *Misr* (Egypt) or the *umma al-Misriyya* (Egyptian nation).⁹⁹ I would like to add to that the age old Egyptian expression of referring to the country as *Bahiya* (Beautiful, also a common female name) or *Umm al Dunya* (mother of the world). During this time period, many territorial nationalists celebrated the *fallahin* as authentic Egyptians who have had a timeless connection to the land since ancient Egyptian time. Also, as we have seen earlier, the *fallaha* figures prominently in numerous novels after the events of Dinshaway, as a model of purity, freedom, activity, and productivity.

Meanwhile, World War I impacted the path of Egypt’s nationalist path. As Albert Hourani observed, nationalism was no longer confined to the educated elite but “it became a movement which, at the moment of crisis, could command the active or passive support of almost the entire people.”¹⁰⁰ The breaking point came in 1918, when the popular statesman and

⁹⁷ Beth Baron, “Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as a Women,” in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. Israel I. Gershoni and James P. Jankowski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 122-23.

⁹⁸ Baron, *Egypt As a Woman*, 57. On the Representation of the French Republic as a woman, see Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into battle: Republican imagery and symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981).

⁹⁹ Baron, *Egypt As a Woman*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ Hourani cites various factors for growing Egyptian discontent with British rule. Among them, the increasing involvement of Egypt in the war (many peasants and their livestock were conscripted for service with Allies), more friction between the people and a larger number of British troops, the designation of more land to the production of

leader of the Wafd party, Sa‘ad Zaaghlul (1857-1927),¹⁰¹ and a delegation traveled to London to demand independence. After the British denied Egypt independence in 1919, and Zaghlul was arrested and exiled as he attempted to travel to attend the Versailles Peace Conference in Paris, demonstrations broke out. Vast portions of the Egyptian population marched in Cairo, including the students, journalists, civil servants, teachers, women, religious leaders, shop-keepers, taxi-drivers, urban laborers. The *fallahin* played a minor role in the protests. Ultimately in 1922, the British brought Zaghlul back, and granted Egypt limited independence, while maintaining a political and military presence.

The 1919 revolution, for the first time in Egyptian history, included most of the Egyptian population, and hence another defining moment in reinvigorating nationalist sentiments and the creation of an Egyptian national image. Meanwhile, a new form of territorial nationalism without any residual affiliations to Ottoman-Islamic affiliations resonated with many Egyptian intellectuals. Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872-1963)¹⁰² led the way, praising Egypt’s Pharaonic heritage, and emphasized the unity of all elements of Egyptian society regardless of their ethnic origin—that is Hijazi, Nubian, Turkish, Circassian, Syrian, or Greek—as long as they were

cotton—to supply world demand, which affected food output in a time when imports became difficult. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 209.

¹⁰¹ Zaghlul first studied at the *khuttab* (religious elementary school), then at Al-Azhar, and later attended the French Law School in Egypt. He held numerous official posts including Minister of Education, Minister of Justice; he became Prime Minister in 1924, and President of the Chamber of Deputies from 1925-26. See ‘Abbas Mahmud al-‘Aqqad, Sa‘ad Zaghlul (Cairo: Matba‘at Hijazi, 1936); Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 209-21; and Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (London: John Murray, 1968), 176-78 and 184, 200, 206.

¹⁰² Referred to as *Ustadh al-Geel* (Teacher of a Generation), Lutfi al-Sayyid was a lawyer, journalist, activist, staunch Egyptian nationalist, spokesman of the Party of the Nation (*hizb al-umma*), and editor of its newspaper *al-Jarida*, as well as the first Egyptian director of Cairo University. For an overview of his background, education, career, and intellectual contributions, see Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image*, 201-293.

committed to their homeland.¹⁰³ Egyptian intellectuals were also influenced by the Russian *narodniks* in the previous century, who beckoned writers and artists “to go to the people,” for inspiration.¹⁰⁴ Salama Musa (1887-1958),¹⁰⁵ among others, called on writers to focus on the Egyptian peasant to produce a genuine nationalist literature. Musa, a fervent “Egyptianist,” emphasized that the *fallahin* were in fact the social group that preserved the true essence of Egypt over time: “Ancient Egypt or the Egypt of the Pharaohs is still alive among our *fallahin*.”¹⁰⁶ Haykal — following in the footsteps of his mentor, Lutfi al-Sayyid — as well as Musa, also stressed the biological connections of ancient and modern Egyptians.

It was in this Egyptian political and social environment that Mahmud Mukhtar (1891-1934), the first modern Egyptian sculptor, grew up. The son of a village *‘umda* (village headman), Mukhtar first studied at the village *kuttab* (religious elementary school)¹⁰⁷ before enrolling at the School of Fine Arts in Cairo, which had opened its doors on 12 May 1908.¹⁰⁸ An indigenous initiative, funded by Prince Yusuf Kamal, a member of the royal family, the school was modelled after the tuition-free École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. With five divisions (painting,

¹⁰³ Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, *al-Jarida* (22 October, 1910). Cited also in *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image* by Wendell, 259.

¹⁰⁴ Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 205.

¹⁰⁵ Journalist, writer, and socialist, Salama Musa was born to wealthy Coptic landowning family. In 1907, he traveled to Turkey, then spent a year in France to study its language and culture, and went to London for four years in London to study Law. He introduced the writings of Darwin, Nietzsche, and Freud to the Egyptian public. On Musa’s ideas, see *ibid.*, 89-92, 179-82, and 205-207.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁰⁷ The older style of education, the *khuttab*s usually led to a theological education at Al-Azhar University, some mediocre trade schools, or back to the village where they would work in the fields. Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 14-15.

¹⁰⁸ For more details on Mukhtar’s formative years, see Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*, 15-20, 45-48, 50-54; Rushdi Iskander, Kamal al-Mallakh, and Subhi al-Sharuni, *80 Sana Min al-Fann, 1908-1988* (80 Years of Art, 1908-1988; Cairo, 1991), 18-22; Liliane Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art: The Emergence of a National Style* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 16-20; and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 32-41.

sculpture, architecture, decorative arts, and Arabic calligraphy), the school had two missions for its students: technical training and development of “a taste for a national art.”¹⁰⁹ Thus, while Egyptian artists were trained in the Western artistic tradition, the school directed them look to for inspiration in Pharaonic and “Arab” art. Guillaume Laplagne (active late 19th and early 20th centuries), the French sculpture instructor and the school’s first director, reasserted this point in his report about the history and future of Egyptian art. Influenced by the French historian and critic, Hippolyte Taine’s concept that an artwork is the product of the physical and social milieu, Laplagne emphasized the importance of Pharaonic art, in particular, as well as the Egyptian countryside with its *fallahin*, who have retained the primitive nature of the country.¹¹⁰

Mukhtar began his studies at the school when he was seventeen years old. In 1911, after receiving a scholarship from Prince Kamal, he left for Paris to continue his studies at the École des Beaux-Arts, where he studied with Jules-Felix Coutan (1848 -1939).¹¹¹ During his initiation celebration at the École, Mukhtar describes how they stripped his clothes off, sat him on a throne, and put a paper crown on his head with the inscription “Ramses II”. He was then paraded to the Café Bonaparte where they drank, ate, and treated Mukhtar as “the new Ramses.” This event, like others in Paris transformed Mukhtar, as he wrote that it “gave me the sensation of breaking loose from the bonds of tradition, a love of freedom and throwing of the shackles of affectation”¹¹² Mukhtar stayed in Paris for nine years, dressing like a Parisian and living like the

¹⁰⁹ For a history of School of Fine Arts in Egypt, see Ramadan, “The Aesthetics of the Modern,” 62-110.

¹¹⁰ Guillaume Laplagne, “L’Art en Égypte: Ce qu’il Fut - ce qu’il Doit Être,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien*, vol. 5 1911 (Le Caire: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1912), 10–18; see also Ramadan, “The Aesthetics of the Modern,” 103-07.

¹¹¹ For biographical information on Mukhtar, see Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*; Lilianne Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art: The Emergence of a National Style* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 11-14; and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 32-41.

¹¹² Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*, 38-39. Cited in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 35.

bohemians of the Latin Quarter.¹¹³ After returning to Egypt in 1920, Mukhtar would continuously visit the French capital until his death in 1934.

Mukhtar conceived *Nahdat Misr* (The Awakening of Egypt) during his stay in Paris when calls and protests for independence in Egypt from the British were taking place. His first model for the sculpture was a woman holding a sword that closely resembled that of the French heroine, Joan of Arc.¹¹⁴ But Mukhtar produced a completely different one, showing the Sphinx rising — suggesting a rebirth of Egypt's ancient grandeur — next to a *fallaha* standing erect placing one hand on the sphinx's head, and lifting her veil with the other — representing the authentic Egyptians becoming liberated (see fig. 67).¹¹⁵ He exhibited a clay model at the Paris Salon of 1920, listed in the catalog as number 3317, where it caught the attention of both the nationalist press and the French presses (fig. 90).¹¹⁶ The model Mukhtar's statue embodied the territorial orientation, which emphasized that the revival of modern Egypt lay in its ancient past and its authentic people, the *fallahin*. The Pharaonic element in *Nahdat Misr*, was part of the movement

¹¹³ After finishing his studies, Mukhtar went to Egypt briefly in 1914, and returned to Paris where he was appointed art director of the national museum, Musée Grevin from 1918-19. Ibid., 34, 36; Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*, 62-64, 87, 103-4.

¹¹⁴ Subhi Sharouni, *Memory of the Nation: Sculptor Mahmoud Mukhtar & His Museum, 1891-1934*. Cairo: al-Dar al-Masriyya al-Lubnaniyya 2007, 14. The biography of Joan of Arc became popular in Egyptian women magazines between 1879 and 1839. See Marilyn Booth, "The Egyptian Lives of Jeanne d'Arc," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 171-211.

¹¹⁵ « Mouktar (Mahmud), Rue de Vagirard, 1995. No. 3317, *Le Reveil de l'Egypte*. * nationalité étrangère ». *Salon des Artistes Français*, p. 183.

¹¹⁶ Articles on *Nahdat Misr* in national press include Hafez 'Afifi, *al-Akhbar* (29 April 1920); Amin al-Rafi 'i (*Al-Akhbar* (30 April 1920); Wissa Wassef *al-Akhbar* (2 May 1920); and Wassef Butros Ghali, *Al-Akhbar* (3 May 1920); among others. For article reprints see Abu Ghazi, *Al-Maththal Mukhtar*, 92-104. In the French press, for example, see G. Davenay, "Le Réveil de l'Egypte," *Le Figaro* (7 May 1920), 1.

dubbed as Neo-Pharaonism.¹¹⁷ The art historian, former Minister of Culture, art historian, and Mukhtar's biographer, Badr al-Din Abu Ghazi pointed out that the monument's celebration of ancient Egypt coincided with the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb at the time.¹¹⁸

A campaign in the Egyptian press was made to raise funds for financing a monumental model of Mukhtar's work.¹¹⁹ Institutions and Egyptians from all segments of society contributed. The monument, measuring seven meters high, was to be created from Egyptian granite quarried from Aswan — a stone used by ancient Egyptians, and in 1922 enormous blocks of raw stone were transported down the Nile in the same way ancient Egyptians did in the past. It would take seven years until the monument was unveiled in 1928 in front of Cairo's train station (fig. 90).¹²⁰

The formal elements in Mukhtar's *Nahdat Misr* clearly reflect French influence. As Gershoni and Jankowski have noted, the composition was influenced by the many sphinxes found in Paris — a fashion triggered by "Egyptomania" in the wake of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and the subsequent publication of the *Description de l'Égypte*, as well as by the French use of women representing their nation in public monuments.¹²¹ Mukhtar reaffirmed that the monuments and sculptures that he saw in Paris influenced the *fallaha* in *Nahdat Misr*. He

¹¹⁷ Pharaonic motifs appeared as newspaper mastheads, on the front pages of periodicals, in poetry, songs, architecture, and the fine arts. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 52-57. See also, Mercedes Volait "Architecture de la Décennie Pharaonique en Égypte (1922-1932)," in *Images d'Égypte : De la fresque à la bande dessinée* (Caire : CEDEJ, 1991), 163-186 ; Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art*, 12-14.

¹¹⁸ Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*, 8.

¹¹⁹ On the campaign drive and Egyptian reception of Mukhtar's model of *Nahdat Misr*, see Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 58-70.

¹²⁰ The delay was mostly due to political and financial reasons. *Ibid.*, 62-68.

¹²¹ Gershoni and Jankowski cite three particular sphinxes that may have influenced Mukhtar: Relief at the entrance of the École des Beaux-Arts, the Sphinx of the Crypt at the Louvre, and the 1860 Fontaine Saint-Michele, designed by Gabriel Davioud (1823–81). "Inspirations and Influences" in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 42-51.

recounted that he was captivated by the four reliefs adorning the Arc de Triomph's monumental pillars, especially the one by Francois Rude's (1784 -1855) *The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792*, showing the allegorical figure of Liberty rousing soldiers to battle (fig. 91).¹²²

Deftly appropriating Western conventions and techniques, Mukhtar conjured a local vision of "Egyptian-ness." Both elements of the sphinx and *fallaha* replicate Kamil's monument, a fact that has been mostly neglected in the literature.¹²³ Thus, Kamil's monument represented the call for Egypt's awakening, through linking it with its Pharaonic past, and relying on its authentic people. The nationalist leader's call for freedom and revival has finally succeeded as manifested in *Nahdat Misr*: The *fallaha* is no longer crouching, with veil removed; she stands proudly with her head upright beside her partner, the sphinx who has risen. In the words of Lufti al-Sayid, Mukhtar's "new sphinx joins the celebration of the revival; his eyes sparkle; as if they are welcoming the dawn of a new era," and that the "slim, beautiful maiden representing the Egyptian nation [....] With determination, she is removing the veil covering her head, a veil that separated her from the civilized world [....] The girl's gaze is turned upward to the heavens, crying out: 'Oh Egypt, go forward, forward.'"¹²⁴ The *fallaha*'s gesture of removing her veil may have been related to the widespread debates on unveiling that had begun in late nineteenth century Egypt,¹²⁵ as well as women's struggle for liberation, as some nationalists believed.¹²⁶ But Mukhtar himself tells us that his intention was not related to improving the stature of women;

¹²² Ibid., 45; Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathal Mukhtar*, 112-114.

¹²³ Baron mentions the connection of the two sculptures in *Egypt as a Woman*, 68. Other texts dealing with Mukhtar and *Nahdat Misr* do not link the two monuments.

¹²⁴ Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, "Timthal Nahdat Misr aw Misr al-Nahida," (The statue of The Awakening of Egypt or Egypt Awakened), *al-Ahram* (20 May 1928), 1, 3. Cited in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 75

¹²⁵ In 1923, the feminist leader, Hoda Sha'arawi, upon her return from a women's meeting in Rome unveiled, signaling other women to follow. See Baron, "Unveiling in Early Twentieth Century Egypt: Practical and Symbolic Considerations," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 25 (1989): 370-86.

¹²⁶ Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 48, 65, 79.

rather it was politically motivated. That is, the *fallaha* shows that “Egypt casts off the heavy cloak that has hidden her from the nations of the world for thousands of years.”¹²⁷

The inauguration on 20 May 1928 was orchestrated by the state, and was attended by “thousands, and thousands, and thousands” of Egyptians.¹²⁸ Among the attendees were King Fu‘ad, state officials, Parliament members, heads of religious communities, diplomats, journalists, and intellectuals, and a huge crowd — Egyptians from all over the country were invited by the Ministry of Public Works. The Prime Minister, Mustafa al-Nahas (1879-1965) delivered the major address, saying it “represents a picture of young Egypt preoccupied with the Sphinx so that it may revive through her and she through it,” and that “Since ancient times [Egypt] has been the cradle of civilization and the source of human wisdom [...] Civilization and wisdom spread from her to Greece and Rome, then to ‘the glorious Arab state’ of the medieval era, and from there to modern Europe.”¹²⁹

The *fallaha* continued to be a recurrent theme in Mukhtar’s work.¹³⁰ But with the development of an Islamic and Arab-nationalist orientation in the 1830s, *Nahdat Misr*—especially with its Neo-pharaonic elements — was subjected to critical reviews.¹³¹ Its meaning was reinterpreted with Egyptian Revolution of 1952, to make it relevant to the new regime. As

¹²⁷ Mahmud Mukhtar, “Abu al-Hul wa-Timthal Mukhtar: Radd al-Mathal Mukhtar ‘ala al-Ustadh al-Mazini (The Sphinx and Mukhtar’s Sculpture: Mukhtar’s Response to Mr. al-Mazini),” *SU* (16 June, 1928), 10. As quoted in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Ibid.*, 84 and 86, no. 28.

¹²⁸ Abu Ghazi, *al-Mathāl Mukhtar*, 105, and for the extensive coverage of the inauguration, 105 -22; and Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 71-86.

¹²⁹ *al-‘Usur* (June 1928), 1122-1126. As quoted in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs*, 187.

¹³⁰ Among his *fallaha* sculptures in the Mahmud Mukhtar Museum: *The Female Peasant Woman*, ca. 1925; *On the Banks of the Nile*, 1926; *A Sitting Woman*, 1927; *The Jar Bearer*, 1927-29; *Back from the River*, 1928, and *Water Carrier*, 1929. A list of his *fallaha* works is cited in Subhi al-Sharuni, *Memory of the Nation: Sculptor Mahmud Mukhtar & his Museum, 1891-1934* (Cairo: al-Dar al-Masriah al-Lubnaniah, 2007), 28-87.

¹³¹ For the change in perception of *Nahdat Misr*, see Gershoni and Jankowski, *Commemorating the Nation*, 111-21.

Abu Ghazi explained, “The sculpture carries a revolutionary as well as a nationalist meaning. It is the first artistic monument in Egypt created under the rule of the sultans [...] But, its creator instead of making it a sculpture for the sultan, created it as a sculpture for the people.”¹³² The monument was moved in 1955 in front of Cairo University in Giza—while a less central location, the reason was, as Gershoni and Jankowski pointed out, was to make a connection to the new regime’s goals of “promoting public education for broad sectors of the population.”¹³³ A museum to show Mukhtar’s works was opened in 1962.¹³⁴

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the metamorphosis of Egypt’s *fallaha* from costume book “type” to the symbol of nation, a subject that has been considerably understudied. Over the long nineteenth century, Egyptian-French encounters were marked by mutual interests. After the short-lived French occupation, France continued to have a strong physical and cultural presence in Egypt. Many Frenchmen worked there; by 1897 there were fourteen thousand French residents in Egypt.¹³⁵ In the field of art and architecture, Egypt was a lucrative market. Both the ruling elite and Egyptian nationalists turned to the French for many of their artistic commissions before the advent of modern Egyptian artists in the early twentieth century. The *fallaha* whetted the French appetite for cataloguing Egypt’s ethnic and social types, first in the *Description de*

¹³² Ibid., 130-31.

¹³³ Ibid., 124.

¹³⁴ The Mahmud Mukhtar Society was established after the sculptor’s death in 1934, a museum for the artist’s works was initially planned to open in 1935.

¹³⁵ *The Census of Egypt: Taken in 1907* (Cairo, 1909), 130. Cited in Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 301.

l'Égypte then in costume books. Orientalist artists and the public alike found the *fallaha* an appealing subject that catered to changing European tastes and an emerging American market that favored scenes of daily life over traditional history paintings, which had dominated Western art for centuries. Moreover, from mid-century, there was an increasing depiction of women — including erotic goddesses, odalisques, contemporary wives, mothers, peasants, working women, and by extension *fallaha*.

In Egypt, we have seen the transformation in the ideological discourse and imagery of the *fallahin* leading to the *fallaha* emerging as an artistic symbol of the nation. Many Egyptians who had an opportunity to study in France benefitted from their engagement with French social sciences, culture, and art. As we have seen, Egyptian intellectuals and reformers fused ideas from Europe with their own culture and religion; turning to their own ancient past and rural environment for their modern national identity. The Egyptians School of Fine Arts and its French Director emphasized that the goal of the school was to train Egyptian artists and not to make them simply “imitators of European art.” Likewise, modern Egyptian artists, such as Mukhtar, combined modern French themes and techniques with the realities of his Egyptian culture and nationalist discourse. Both Laplagne and Mukhtar thus, reflect a dual cultural orientation, which in my view is key to understanding the dynamics of cultural encounters between Egypt and France at the time. Finally, a major component informing many *Nahda* luminaries may be gleaned in ‘Ali Mubarak’s novel *Alam al-Din* published in 1882. In this story of an Azhari Sheikh who meets and travels with an English Orientalist to Europe, Mubarak argues that the Muslim world’s past glories were attributed to the same reasons behind Europe’s present-day greatness, namely, science and knowledge. And, while Europe had borrowed earlier from the Muslim world’s knowledge and sciences, as in the case of the compass in the twelfth century, it

was now the East's turn to emulate its successful development, that the negation of borrowing would be isolation, the very mark of backwardness and decadence.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ B. F. Musallam, "The Modern Vision of Ali Mubarak," in *The Islamic City: Selected Papers from the Colloquium Held at the Middle East Centre, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, United Kingdom, from 19 to 23 July 1976*, ed. R. b. Serjeant (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 194.

Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to elucidate the complex dynamic of Egyptian-French encounters during the period from 1867 to 1928. My aim was to move beyond dominant paradigms within the field of Orientalist studies, and build on new directions in the field focusing on both indigenous and Western histories. Towards that end, I have taken an interdisciplinary approach and tapped archival sources in investigating the artistic interactions between Western artists and local patrons, as well as issues of production and reception. All four case studies have revealed a number of related themes. First, these encounters were complex, nuanced, and shifted according to various moments impacted by political, economic, and cultural changes, as well as social experiences. Second, the interactions were embedded in a complex web of self-serving interests representing national and individual interests respectively, that at times coalesced and at others diverged. And a third is that some of the French and Egyptian citizens who crossed borders came to have a dual cultural orientation.

In the first two chapters, I examined two definitive moments in the aesthetic expression of Egypt as an independent, civilized, and modern nation. The first chapter focused on the Egyptian display at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, which forged the country's unique cultural identity. Khedive Isma'il together with a committee (mostly French) presented Egypt as a modern, civilized, and independent country, while highlighting its glorious Pharaonic and medieval Islamic Fatimid history, as well as its native population. At the same time, the exhibition fed Europe's appetite for Egyptomania, the exotic, and the vision of the Orient that was described in *One Thousand and Nights*. Egypt's display was deftly articulated in the accompanying publications by Charles Edmond and Auguste Mariette, besides being extensively

covered in the French media. An important legacy of the 1867 Egyptian exhibition is that it sowed the seeds for Egyptians to think about their conjoined project of modernity and national identity. In the second chapter, I demonstrated how Isma‘il envisaged a grand tableau to celebrate the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869, and used the occasion as a propaganda tool (as he did in Paris). Egypt was at the center of world attention, as Isma‘il hosted the most powerful European sovereigns, alongside the leading names in French science, literature, art, and journalism. Once again, it fell to the French to promote a glorious Egypt, being “a hyphen between Europe and the Orient.” Second Empire France also took advantage of the inauguration to laud its gigantic engineering enterprise and celebrate upending the British in Egypt. Both chapters underscore Khedive Isma‘il’s active involvement in the two events.

In Chapter 3, I presented new archival material that has elucidated French artistic interactions with both Egypt’s ruler and its elite. What we saw was the Khedive’s agency in defining his dynasty’s symbolic power and independence. Additionally, there was a well-organized artistic system in Paris to supervise these commissions, fortified by a highly competitive artistic arena in which networking was crucial. The royal statues that Isma‘il commissioned combined both a Western and Oriental proclivity. Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha donned their local costumes, and adorned their horses with royal emblems that suggested a powerful dynastic image. At the same time, free-standing royal monuments were a Western symbol of power. This twofold signification was a key aspect of the khedivial dynasty’s royal identity, which reflected national pride while being in tune with the civilized West.

Chapter 4 explored the evolving images of the Egyptian *fallaha* in nineteenth-century French art to a symbol of the Egyptian nation in the early twentieth century. French encounters with the *fallaha* fed the European fascination with Egypt’s ethnic and social types, as well as

their appetite for the exotic. The subject was also in step with the increasing popularity of the depiction of women in Europe by mid-century. In Egypt, the *fallahin* debuted as the symbol of the nationalist discourse in the 1880s and 1890s, and were considered to embody the soul of the nation in the early twentieth century. This was part of the territorial nationalist orientation, which emphasized Egypt's Pharaonic heritage and authentic rural environment. While the *fallaha* made some appearances in images and texts, her first known artistic embodiment of the Egyptian nation occurred in the monuments made first by Savine and then by Mukhtar.

As we have seen in this dissertation, Egypt's position in the Orientalist discourse is unique. In other words, one cannot interpret the Egyptian case under the broad and generally opposed terms of "East" and "West." During most of the period under discussion (until 1914), Egypt was a nominal province of the Ottoman Empire, the seat of the Islamic Caliphate, and for that reason enlisted the loyalty of many Egyptian Muslims. Nevertheless, the historian Ussama Makdisi coined the term "Ottoman Orientalism," defining it "as a complex of Ottoman attitudes produced by a nineteenth-century age of Ottoman reform that implicitly and explicitly acknowledged the West to be the home of progress and the East [...] to be a *present* theater of backwardness."¹ The appointed Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha began the country's modernization and quest for autonomy, a path that was continued by his ambitious grandson Khedive Isma'il. The French, a European colonial power and Egypt's former colonizer, played a pivotal role in both men's bid for modernity and independence. During the course of the long nineteenth century, Egypt became influenced by both the Ottoman and French cultural worlds. Since Napoleon's Egyptian defeat in 1801, France championed this rapprochement, in order to secure its position in the region and preserve its interests — especially against its ardent

¹ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism" *American Historical Review* 107/3(2002): 769-70.

British rival. French relations with Egypt peaked under Napoleon III, who relished France's superiority in Egyptian archeology as well as the Suez Canal project. But, as we have seen in the case of the Suez Canal, these interests diverged, and both Napoleon III and Isma'il pursued their own concerns. While the British occupation from 1882 did not exert much cultural influence, it accelerated the debates of the Egyptian national identity.

Egyptian-French encounters undoubtedly influenced Egypt's nationalist discourse and indigenous art movement. However, to read this process as one of merely reproduction, translation, or assimilation obscures the many complexities that are unique to a specific country and moment of history. As we have seen, it was the Egyptian display in the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle that sowed the seeds for the burgeoning of national pride in Egypt's ancient civilization and its native population. Egyptian nationalists and artists later embraced this very vision when they began to rethink their collective image. It is worth noting that a large number of the early *Nahda* luminaries who came into contact with Western civilization, such as al-Tahtawi, sought a fusion between European thought and loyalty to the Islamic community, and the Ottomans. He was the first to synchronize the idea of a secular nation defined by territory with Muslim traditional views of the community, and also to embrace the country's Pharaonic heritage. Lutfi al-Sayyid, like many other Egyptian patriots, praised his country's ancient civilization but was the first to advocate a territorial nationalism that was freed from Ottoman-Islamic overtones, emphasizing that Egypt's modern revival lies in linking its indigenous people with their ancient past. It was the latter territorial nationalism that formed Egypt's modern collective image, which peaked in the 1920s. The new generation of Egyptian modern artists, influenced by territorial nationalism used Western aesthetic practices to envision a modern

Egypt. Thus, we have Mukhtar's *Nahdat Misr* in which he juxtaposed two symbols of Egyptian identity, the Pharaonic sphinx and modern Egypt's *fallaha*.

One of the enduring legacies of Egyptian-French encounters is in the artistic realm. For it was Napoleon's scholars and artists who first portrayed virtually every aspect of ancient and modern Egypt. Khedive Isma'il made use of French artists to define both his country's image as well as his dynastic power and independence. Similarly, Egyptian nationalists did the same to visually represent Egypt's new modern identity before the establishment of the Egyptian School of Fine Arts. This institution was modeled after the French *École des Beaux-Arts*, but what was particularly interesting is that it had as its goal technical training and the development of "a taste for national art." Mukhtar, the first graduate to receive a scholarship continued his artistic training at the French art school in Paris. Combining Western artistic tradition and the art he saw in Paris with his indigenous culture, Mukhtar synthesized both an Egyptian and French cultural orientation. As I have argued, that duality was one of the consequential results of these encounters; a concept that has been gaining currency in the field. Eldem, was one of the first to point out that the French archeologist Saloman Reinach in 1910 described Osman Hamdi Bey as "the most Parisian of Ottomans, the most Ottoman of Parisians,' and France was 'his second motherland,' that 'of his youth and mind' but he was 'a Turk at heart, exclusively a Turk.'"² In the end, it will only be through continued research and the discovery of untapped archival material that we can broaden our understanding of the East's encounters with the West.

² Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey." In *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. D. Shankland (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), 124.

Select Bibliography

Archives

Egyptian National Archives (Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya), Cairo.
Egyptian National Library (Dar al-Kutub)

Periodicals

Abu Naddara Zar'a
Al-Tankit wa al-Tabkit
Al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyya
Al Ahram
Gazette des Beaux-Arts
Le Journal illustré
Le Monde illustré
Le Moniteur universel
Le Magasin pittoresque
Le Figaro
L'Illustration
The Illustrated London News
The New York Times

Primary Sources: Books and Articles

About, Edmond. *Le Fellah*. 4th ed. Paris: Librairie de l. Hachette et C^{ie}, 1883.

Baudot, Anatole de. "Exposition universelle de 1867." *Gazette des architectes et du bâtiment*. Special Issue. Paris, 1867.

Berchère, Narcisse. *Le Désert de Suez. Cinq mois dans l'Isthme*. [With a map.]. 1863.

Bida, Alexandre, and Emile Prosper Barbot. *Souvenirs d'Égypte*. Paris: Imprimerie Lemerchier et C^{ie}, 1851

Charles-Roux, Jules. *L'Isthme et le canal de Suez, historique-état actuel*. Vol. 1. Paris: Hachette & C^{ie}, 1901.

De Leon, Edwin. *The Khedive's Egypt; Or, The Old House of Bondage Under New Masters*. London: Sampson Low, Maeston, Searle & Eiyington, 1877.

Drohojowska, Antoinette-Joséphine-Françoise-Anne. *L'Égypte et le canal de Suez*. Paris : A. Laporte, 1870.

Ducuing, François. *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée, publication internationale autorisée par la Commission impériale*. Paris: Administration, 1867.

Edmond, Charles [Karol Edmund Chojecki]. *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*. Paris: Dentu, Librairie-Éditeur, Palais-Royal, 1867.

Fontane, Marius. *Le Canal maritime de Suez illustré. Histoire du Canal et des Travaux par M. Marius Fontane. Itinéraire de l'Isthme par M. Riou*. Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Illustration, 1869.

_____. *Voyage pittoresque à travers l'Isthme de Suez, vingt-cinq grandes aquarelles d'après nature par Riou*. Paris: Paul Dupont & E. Lachaud, [1870].

Forbin, Louis Nicolas Philippe Auguste, Nicolas Auguste Leisnier, and Simon-César Delaunay. *Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818, par M. le C.te de Forbin*. Paris: De l'imprimerie Royale, 1819.

Gautier, Hippolyte. *Les Curiosités de l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. 2 vols. Paris, 1867.

Gautier, Théophile. "The Suez Isthmus." *Le Moniteur universel*, no. 215, 3 August, 1867.

_____. *L'Orient*. 2 vols. Paris : G. Charpentier, 1877.

Lami, Stanislas. *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française du moyen âge au règne de Louis XIV*. Paris: H. Champion, 1898.

Lane, Edward William. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians: Written in Egypt during the years 1833, -34, and -35, partly from notes made during a former visit to that country in the years 1825, -26, -27, and -28*, edited by Edward Stanley Poole. 5th ed. London: John Murray, 1871

Laplagne, Guillaume. "L'Art en Égypte: Ce qu'il Fut - ce qu'il Doit Être," *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. 5, 1911. Le Caire: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1912.

La Teillais, Jules Chevalier de. *Le voyage de Son Altesse le vice-roi d'Égypte et la presse européenne*. Paris: impr. de G. Kugelmann, 1870.

Lenoir, Paul. *The Fayoum; or, Artists in Egypt*. London: H.S. King & Co, 1873.

MacCoan, James Carlile. *Egypt Under Ismail. A Romance of History ... With an Appendix of Official Documents*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1889.

Marriette, Auguste. *Description du parc égyptienne: Expositions universelle de 1867*. Paris, 1867.

_____. *Itinéraire des invités aux fêtes d'inauguration du Canal de Suez qui séjournent au Caire et font le voyage du Nil*. Le Caire: [s.n.], 1869.

Maspero, G. *Notice biographique sur Auguste Mariette (1821-1881)*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1904.

Murray, John. *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt: Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile Through Egypt and Nubia, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids and Thebes, the Suez Canal, the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the Oases, the Fyoom, Etc.* 5th ed. London: J. Murray, 1875.

Nicole, Gustave. *Inaguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains; aquarelles d'après nature et portraits par Riou, peintre de Son Altesse le Khédive; lithographiés par E. Cicéri, G. Janet, Lafosse, Sirouy, Morel-Fatio, J. Didier, Sorieu, F. Benoit, etc. etc., I*. Paris, Imprimerie Lemercier et cie, 1869.

Normand, Alfred Nicolas. *L'architecture des nations étrangères: étude sur les principales constructions du parc à l'Exposition universelle de Paris (1867)*. Paris: A. Morel, 1870.

Payne, John. *The Poetical Works of John Payne I, Narrative Poems / John Payne*. London: Villon Soc, 1902.

Pharaon, Florian, *Le Caire et la Haute-Egypte. Dessins d'A. Darjou*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1872.

St. John, James Augustus, and Émile Prisse d'Avennes. *Oriental Album: Characters, Costumes, and Modes of Life, in the Valley of the Nile*. London: J. Madden, 1848.

Strahan, Edward, Walter Smith, Joseph M. Wilson, and Earl Shinn. *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition Illustrated*. Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie, 1876.

Stryenski, Casimir, and Charles Landelle. *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908*. Paris: Émile-Paul, 1911.

Taglioni, Charles. *Deux mois en Égypte, journal d'un invité du khédive*. Paris, Chez Amyot, 1870.

Secondary Sources: Books and Articles

Abdeen Palace: The Jewel of 19th Century Cairo. [Alexandria]: [Bibliotheca Alexandrina], 2007.

Abu Ghazi, Badr al-Din. *Al-Funun al-Jamila fi Misr: Jil min al-Ruwwad*. Cairo: Dar al-Hilal, 1985.

Abu Ghazi, Badr al-Din. *Al-Mathal Mukhtar*. Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmiyah lil-Ṭiba'ah wa-al-Nashr, al-Qāhirah, 1964.

Abu Ghazi, Badr al-Din. *Mukhtār, ḥayatuhu wa-fannuh: ma'a 44 ṣurah li-arwa' athar Mukhtar wa-ṣuwar tadhkariyah ukhra*. [Cairo]: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitab, 1988.

Abu Ghazi, Badr al-Din, Gabriel Bockor, and Georges Rémond. *Mouktar, ou, Le reveil de l'Egypte*. Cairo: Urivand, 1949.

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Al- Rafi'i, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān. *ʿAsr Ismail*. 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1948.

_____. *Mustafa Kamil: Bai'th al-Haraka al-Wataniyya, 1892-1908*. 5th ed. Cairo: Maktabet al-Nahda, 1962.

AlSayyad, Nezar, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser O. Rabbat. *Making Cairo Medieval*. Lanham [Md.]: Lexington Books, 2005.

Ali, Wijdan. *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. New York: Verso Press, 1991.

Aubenas, Sylvie. *Gustave Le Gray: 1820-1884*. London: Phaidon, 2003.

Azar, Aimé. *La Peinture moderne en Egypte*. Cairo: Editions Nouvelles, 1961.

Baraka, Magda. *The Egyptian Upper Class Between Revolutions, 1919-1952*. Reading: Garnet & Ithaca Press, 1998.

Baron, Beth. *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*. 1994. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

_____. *Egypt As a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

_____. "The Making of the Egyptian Nation." In *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, 137-158. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

Beaulieu, Jill and Mary Roberts (eds.), *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. *Azbakiyya and Its Environs: From Azbak to Ismā'īl, 1476-1879*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1985.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, and Stephen Vernoit. *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Benjamin, Roger. *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Blair, Sheila, and Jonathan Bloom. *Arab art: the complete plates from L'Art arabe and the Oriental Album*. Köln: Taschen, 2010.

Booth, Marilyn. "The Egyptian Lives of Jeanne d'Arc," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, edited by Lila Abu-Lughod. 171-211. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Carré, Jean-Marie. *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte*. Cairo: Institut français archéologie orientale, 1956.

Castillon du Perron, Marguerite. *Princess Mathilde*. Melbourne: Heinemann, 1956.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007.

Cole, Juan Ricardo. *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Colla, Elliott. *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure, Gamal al-Ghitani, Nagib Amin, Raymond Collet, and Arnaud du Boistesselin. *Port-Saïd: architectures XIXe-XXe siècles*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2006.

Crosnier-Leconte, Marie-Laure, Raymond Collet, and Amany Fouad. *Port-Sa'id: architectures XIXe - XXe siècles: 'imārat al-qarn at-tāsi' 'ašar wa-'l-qarn al-'iṣrīn*. Le Caire: Inst. Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2006.

Desurvire, Emmanuel. *Charles Edmond Chojecki: patriote polonais, explorateur, soldat, poète, dramaturge, romancier, journaliste, bibliothécaire*. 4 vols. Saint-Escorbille: Desurvire, 2011.

Dornig, Marlies. "Conquering the Territory: The Suez Canal and its Early Depiction in Photography." *Photo Researcher*, 28 (2017): 46-56.

Douin, Georges. *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*. 3 vols. Roma: Nell Istituto poligrafico dello stato per la reale società di geografia d'Egitto, 1933-38.

Eldem, Edhem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey." In *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. D. Shankland (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), 121-149.

Ersoy, Ahmet. *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.

Fahmy, Khaled. *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge Middle East studies, 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Fahmy, Ziad. *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation Through Popular Culture*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011.

_____. "Francophone Egyptian Nationalists, Anti-British Discourse, and European Public Opinion, 1885 – 1910: The Case of Mustafa Kamil and Ya'qub Sannu'," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 28: 1 (2008): 170-183.

Fanon, Frantz, and Charles Lam Markmann. *Black Skin White Masks*. [London]: Paladin, 1970.

Farag, Maged M. *The Palace Since 1869*. Cairo, Egypt: Max Group, 1999.

Gasper, Michael Ezekiel. *The Power of Representation Publics, Peasants, and Islam in Egypt*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Gershoni, Israel, and James P. Jankowski. *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930*. New York: Oxford university press, 1987.

_____. *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2004.

Ghali, Mirrit Buṭrus ed. *Mémoires de Nubar Pacha*. Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban, 1983.

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002.

_____. *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal*. Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009.

Hackforth-Jones, Jocelyn, and Mary Roberts (eds.), *Edges of Empire Orientalism and Visual Culture*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2008.

Hargrove, June Ellen. *The Statues of Paris: An Open-Air Pantheon*. New York: Vendome Press, 1989.

Hassan, Hassan. *In the House of Muhammad Ali A Family Album, 1805-1952*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000.

Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hunter, F. Robert. *Egypt Under the Khedives, 1805-1879 From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy*. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1999.

Iskandar, Rushdi, Kamal al-Mallakh, and Subhi al-Sharuni. *80 sana min al-fann: 1908-1988*. Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1991.

Isom-Verhaaren, Christine. "Shifting Identities. Foreign State Servants in France and the Ottoman Empire." *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): 109-34.

Karabell, Zachary. *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 2003.

Karnouk, Liliane. *Modern Egyptian Art, 1910-2003*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005.

Kreiser, Klaus. "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt." *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 104- 117.

Kjellberg, Pierre. *Bronzes of the 19th Century: Dictionary of Sculptors*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub, 1994.

Konrad, Felix. "Religion, Political Loyalty, and Identity: French and Egyptian Perceptions of Süleyman Paşa Sève (1788-1860)." In *Agents of Transculturation Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens*, edited by Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, 89-115. Münster, Westf: Waxmann, 2013.

Lababidi, Lesley. *Cairo's Street Stories: Exploring the City's Statues, Squares, Bridges, Gardens, and Sidewalk Cafés*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008.

MacKenzie, John M. *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

Makdisi, Usama. "Ottoman Orientalism" *American Historical Review* 107/3(2002): 769-70.

Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid. *Egypt's Liberal Experiment, 1922-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

_____. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Mccoan, James Carlile. *Egypt Under Ismail*. London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1889.

McQueen, Alison. *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century*. Farnham, Surrey, UK England: Ashgate, 2011.

Micklewright, Nancy. *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003.

Millet, Bertrand. *Samir, Mickey, Sindbad et les autres: histoire de la presse enfantine en Egypte*. Le Caire: Centre d'études et de documentation économique juridique et sociale, c. 1987.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Montel, Nathalie. *Hippolyte Arnoux, Photograph de l'Union des Mers, Le canal de Suez vers 1880*. Paris, Centre historique des Archives National, Hôtel des Soubise, 1997.

Moussa, Sarga, and Kaja Antonowicz. *Le voyage en Égypte: anthologie de voyageurs européens de Bonaparte à l'occupation anglaise : introduction, notices bio-bibliographiques, chronologie, index des principaux lieux*. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2004.

Namnam, Hilmi, and Nifin Muhammad Musa. *The Suez Canal: Documentation of an Egyptian Dream*. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub wa Al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2015.

Nochlin, Linda. "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* by Linda Nochlin. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

Parry, James. *Orientalist Lives, Western Artists in the Middle East 1830-1920*. Cairo, New York: The American University Press, 2018.

Peltre, Christine. *Orientalism in Art*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

_____. "De l'entre-deux-mers à l'entre-deux-mondes: l'Orientalisme ancien et moderne du canal de Suez." In *Mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre Vaisse*, ed. Leila El-Wakil, Stéphanie Pallini, and Lada Umstatter-Mamedova, 119-126. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2006.

Peters, Rudolph. "The Lions of Qasr al-Nil Bridge: The Islamic Prohibitions of Images as an Issue in the 'Urabi Revolt." In *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*, edited by Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick and David S. Powers, 214-20. Cambridge, MA and London, 1966.

Piaton, Claudine, "Les phares d'Égypte: laboratoire et conservatoire de l'ingénierie européenne du XIX^e siècle," *ABE Journal* [online], 5 (2014).
<https://journals.openedition.org/abe/704> (Accessed 31 August 2017).

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Prisse d'Avennes, Émile. *Arab Art, Arabische Kunst, L'Art arabe*, essay by Sheila Blair and Jonathan . Köln: Taschen, 2010.

Reid, Donald Malcolm. *Whose Pharaohs?: Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.

_____. *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

_____. *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Rifaat, Mohammed. *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*. London: Longmans, Green, 1947.

Roberts, Mary. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth Century Visual Culture*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2015.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sammarco, Angelo. *Le règne du Khédive Ismaïl de 1863 à 1875*, vol. 3. Le Caire: Imprimerie de Schölch, Alexander. *Egypt for Egyptians! The Socio-Political Crisis in Egypt 1878-1882*. London: Ithaca Press, 1981.

Selim, Samah. *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt, 1880-1985*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Al- Sharuni, Şubhi. *Memory of the nation: sculptor Mahmoud Mukhtar & His Museum, 1891-1934*. Cairo: al-Dar al-Masriah al-Lubnaniah, 2007.

Thornton, Lynne. *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers, 1828-1908*. Paris: ACR Editions, 1994.

Toledano, Ehud R. *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Wendell, Charles. *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image from Its Origin to Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid*. Berkeley, Calif: 1972.

Volait, Mercedes. *Émile Prisse d'Avennes: un artiste-antiquaire en Égypte au XIXe siècle*. 2013.

_____. *Fous du Caire: excentriques, architectes & amateurs d'art en Égypte, 1863-1914*. [Apt?]: Archange Minotaure, 2009.

_____. *Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXe siècle*. Paris, Picard 2013.

Wiet, Gaston. *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts*. Cairo: Dar al-Ma‘arif, 1949.

Exhibitions

Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure, and Mercedes Volait. *L’Egypte d’un architecte: Ambroise Baudry, 1838-1906*. Paris: Somogy Editions d’art, 1998.

De Margerie, Laure, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli. *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004.

Gauthier, Gilles, Nala Aloudat, and Agnès Carayon eds. *L’épopée du canal de Suez*. Paris: Gallimard Institut du monde arabe; Marseille: Musée d’histoire de Marseille, 2018.

Pillon, Didier, and Charles Schaettel. *Charles Landelle, 1821-1908: exposition rétrospective, 25 juin-13 septembre 1987*. Laval: Musée du Vieux-Château, 1987.

Dictionaries

Daly, M. W. ed. *The Cambridge History of Egypt*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Findling, John E., and Kimberly D. Pelle eds. *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

_____. *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2008.

Richemond, Stéphane, and Denise Grouard, *Les orientalistes: dictionnaire des sculpteurs, XIXe-XXe siècles*. Paris : L’Amateur, 2008

Dissertations

Bräuner Hélène. “Les représentations du Canal de Suez (XVe-XXe siècles): esthétiques et politiques d’une vision.” PhD diss., University of Strasburg, 2015.

Fahmy, Ziad. “Popularizing Egyptian Nationalism: Colloquial Culture and Media Capitalism, 1870-1919.” PhD diss., The University of Arizona, 2007.

Mestyan Adam. “‘A Garden with Mellow Fruits of Refinement,’ Music Theatres and Cultural Politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892.” PhD diss., Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2011.

Nickou, Mehrangiz. "National Architecture and International Politics: Pavilions of the Near Eastern nations in the Paris International Exposition of 1867." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997.

Ramadan, Dina. *The Aesthetics of the Modern: Producing Artists, Cultivating Collectors, and Imagining Audiences in Egypt 1908-1958*. PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013.

Illustrations



Fig. 1

Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, granite, erected in 1928, Giza, Egypt. Photo by Aladin Abdel Naby.

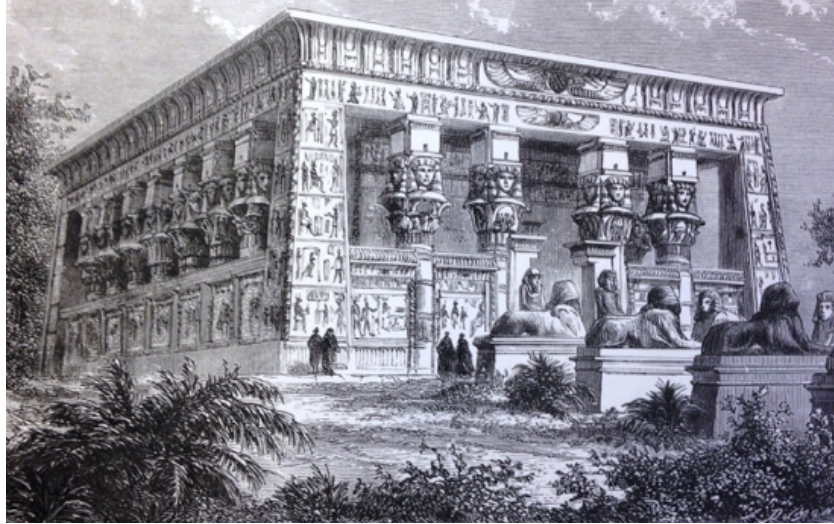


Fig. 2

After D. Lancelot, "Temple," engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris: Dentu, 1867), p. 20.



Fig. 3

After D. Lancelot, "Salamlik," engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris: Dentu, 1867), between page 128 & 129.



Fig. 4

After D. Lancelot, “Wikala,” engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris: Dentu, 1867), p. 202.



Fig. 5

After M. Gaildrau, “Egyptian House (and stables),” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 4 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 56.



Fig. 6

After D. Lancelot, "Isthmus of Suez," engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 8 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p.1.



Fig. 7

"HRH Isma'il Pasha Viceroy of Egypt," engraving, in *L'Égypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867 par M. Charles Edmond, Commissaire Générale De L'Exposition Vice Royale D'Égypte*, by Charles Edmond (Paris : Dentu, 1867), frontispiece.



Fig. 8

After M. Cecéri. "The Oriental Quarter," engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 49 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 296.

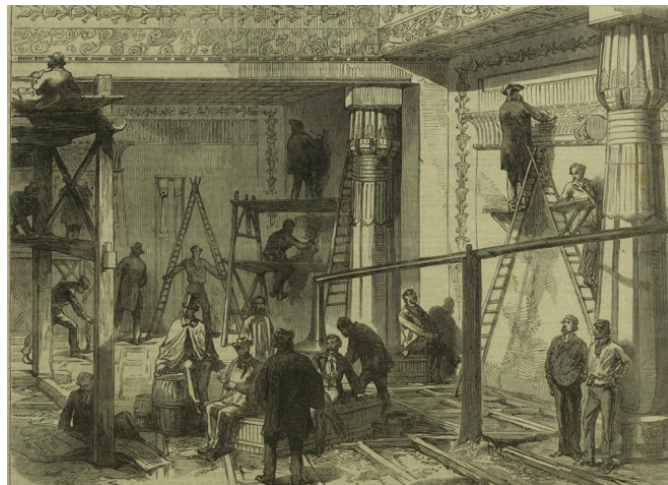


Fig. 9

"Construction of the Egyptian Temple," engraving, in *The Illustrated London News* (23 March 1867), p. 273.

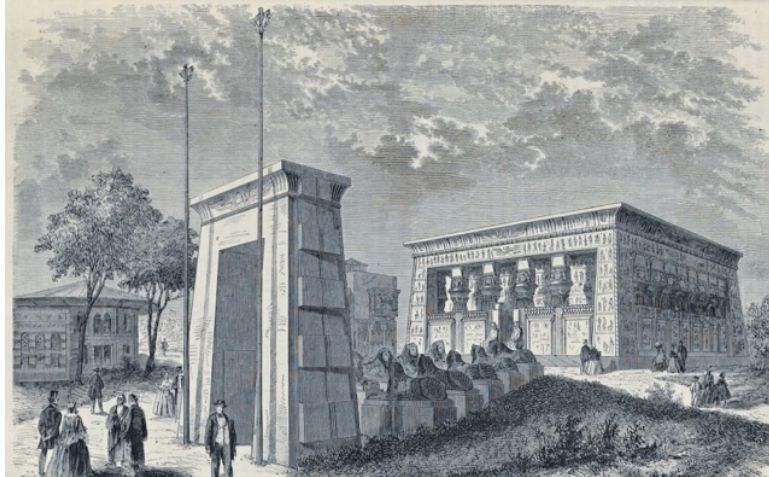


Fig. 10

After J. Gaildrau, "Egyptian Temple," engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 4 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 57.



Fig. 11

After D. Lancelot, "Egyptian Temple Interior," engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 27 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 424.



Fig. 12

After Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, “Champollion,” engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal* (25 August to 1 September 1, 1867), title page.

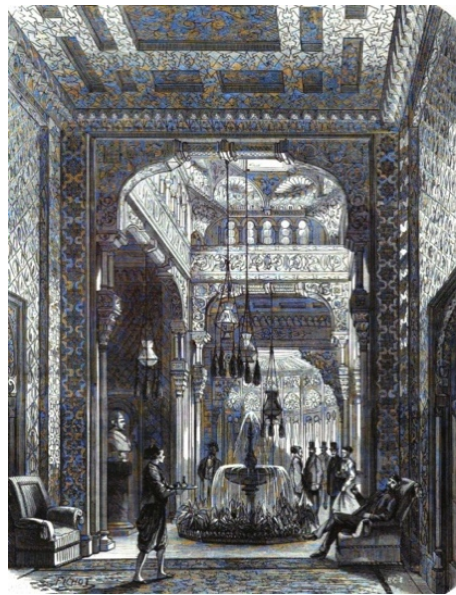


Fig. 13

“Salamlik Interior” (showing marble bust of Isma‘il), engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal Universel* (7 December 1867), p. 376.



Fig. 14

Charles Cordier, *Portrait of Khedive Isma'il*, marble, Manial Palace, Cairo. Photo by Aladin Abdel Naby.



Fig. 15

"The Ottoman Quarter," engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal universel* (2 March 1867), p. 140.



Fig. 16

“Mannequins with Costumes in the Egyptian section,” engraving, in *The Illustrated London News*, (11 May 1867), p. 473.

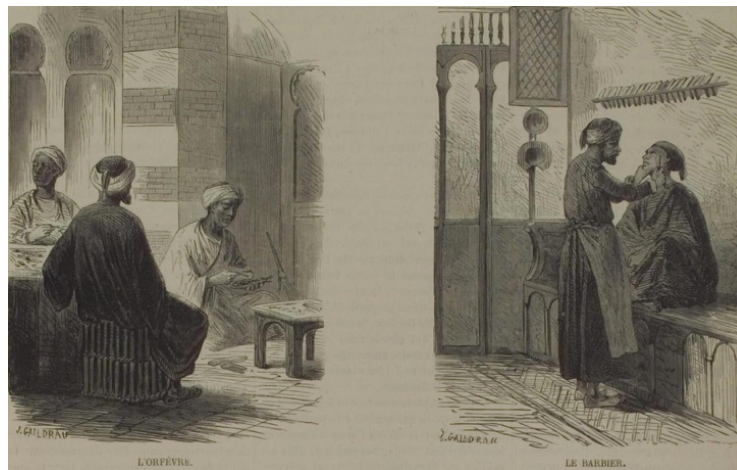


Fig. 17

After J. Gaildrau, “Artisans in the Wikala,” engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 22 (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 341.

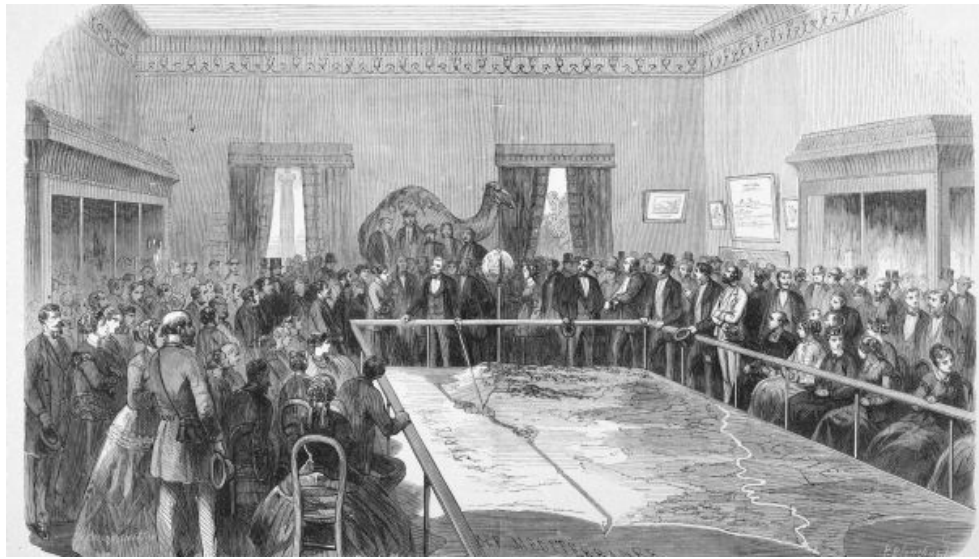


Fig. 18

“Isthmus of Suez Pavilion, A Conference of M. de Lesseps,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (28 September 1867), p. 200.

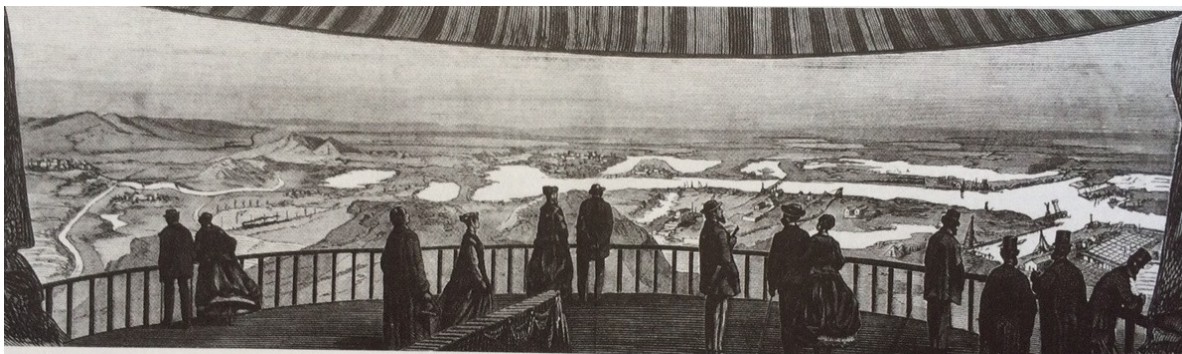


Fig. 19

“Panorama of the Isthmus of Suez at the Exposition universelle of 1867, panorama by Auguste Rubé and Philippe Chaperon,” engraving, in *L’Univers illustré* (Paris, 1867), pp. 440-41.



Fig. 20

“Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie with Khedive Isma‘il at the Temple,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (13 July 1867), p. 24.

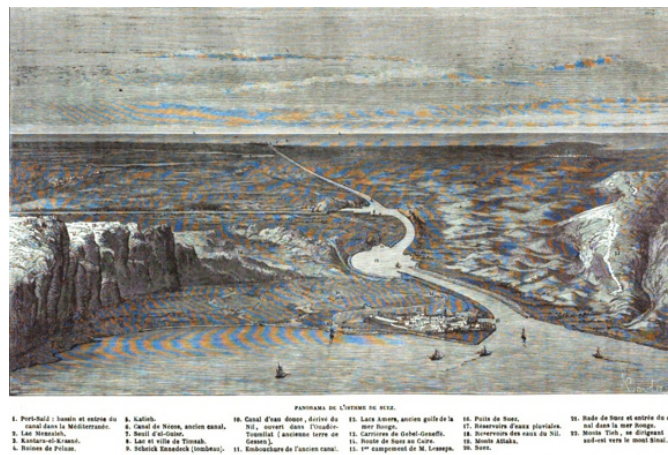


Fig. 21

After Dominique Grenet, “Panorama of the Isthmus of Suez,” in Paul Merruau, “Une excursion au Canal de Suez,” in *Le Tour du Monde, Nouveau Journal des Voyages* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette, 1862), p. 4.



Fig. 22

“Versailles. – Celebration given for the Viceroy at the Grand Trianon. – The Empress and Viceroy Visit the Park after lunch,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (17 July 1869), p. 40.



Fig. 23

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Gateway to the Orient*, 1869, oil on canvas, Musée des beaux-arts, Marseille.

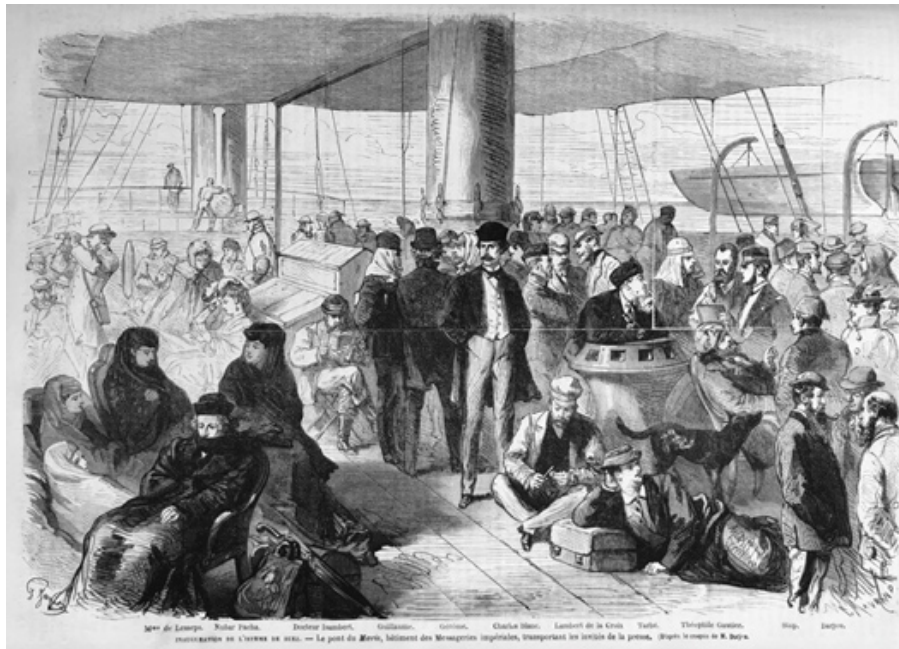


Fig. 24

After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Inauguration of the Isthmus of Suez. The Moeris deck, Imperial Messageries vessel transporting the press invitees: Mrs. de Lesseps, Nubar Pasha, Doctor Isambert, Guillaume, Gérôme, Charles Blanc, Lambert de la Croix, Tarbé, Théophile Gautier,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (23 October 1869), p. 265.

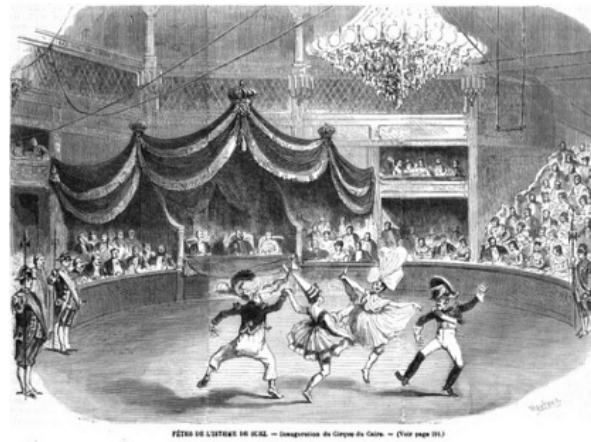


Fig. 25

“Celebration of the Isthmus of Suez- Inauguration of the Circus in Cairo,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal Universel* (6 November 1869), p. 289.



Fig. 26

After photograph by M. Désiré and drawing by M. Auguste Marc, “Voyage of HM the Empress - Gezira Palace, Residence of Her HM in Cairo,” engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal universel* (13 November 1869), p. 312.



Fig. 27

After photograph by M. Désiré, “Voyage of HM the Empress - Gezira Palace, Residence of Her HM in Cairo – side garden view,” engraving, in *L'Illustration: Journal universel* (13 November 1869), p. 332.



Fig. 28

After M. Auguste Marc, “Gezira Palace, Residence of HM in Cairo – Her Majesty’s Bedroom,” engraving, in *L’Illustration: Journal universel* (27 November 1869), p. 354.



Fig. 29

After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Egypt – Voyage of the Khedive’s invitees. – Lunch at the Ramesseum, in Thebes,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869), p. 372.



Fig. 30

After Édouard Riou, “The Sovereign’s Pavilion (La tribune des souverains),” 1870, colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier et C^{ie}, 1869), between page 12 and 14. Photo provided by Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1389-074).



Fig. 31

After Édouard Riou, “Religious Ceremony on the Port Said Shore (Cérémonie Religieuse sur la plage de Port Saïd),” 1870, colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez : Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869), between page 12 and 14.

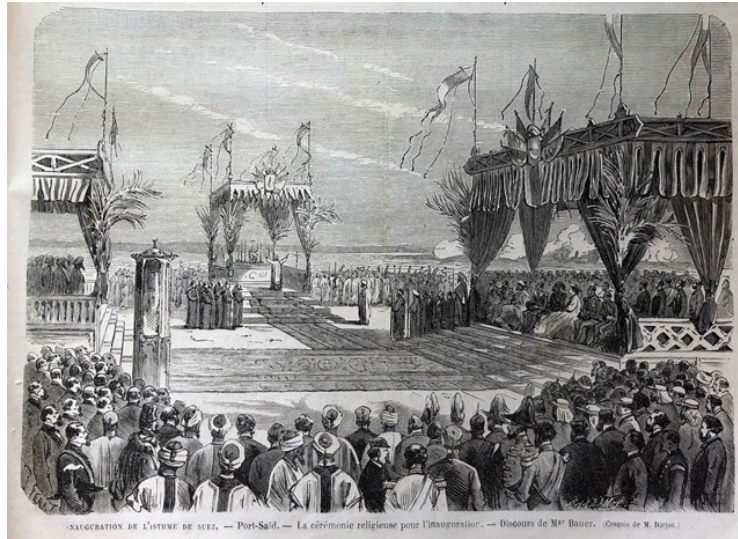


Fig. 32

After Alfred-Henri Darjou, "Inauguration of the Isthmus of the Suez Canal, – Port Said. – The Inauguration Religious Ceremony. – Bishop Bauer's Speech," engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (4 December 1869), p. 357.

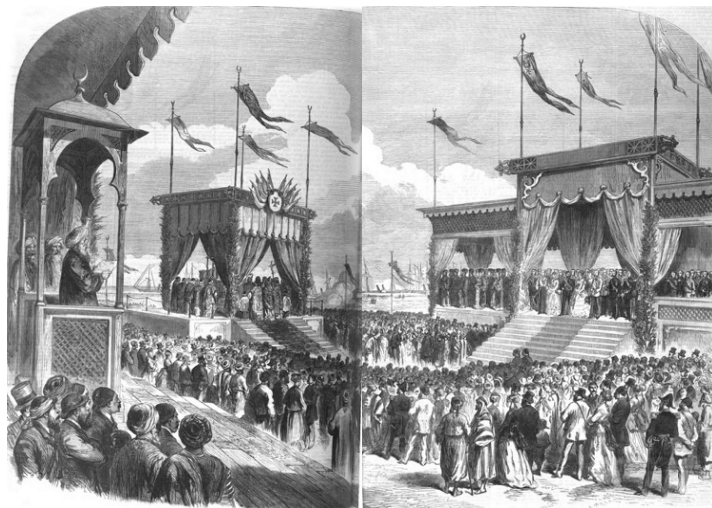


Fig. 33

After William Simpson, "Opening of the Suez Canal: Blessing the Canal in the Presence of Imperial and Royal Visitors," engraving, in *The Illustrated London News* (11 December 1869), pp. 588-89.



Fig. 34

After Alfred-Henri Darjou, top: “Celebrations of Isma‘ilia. Grand Fantasia by the Different Desert Tribes, the 18th of November;” bottom: “The Entry of Ships in Lake Timsah,” engraving, in *Le Monde illustré* (11 December 1869), p. 373.



Fig. 35

After Édouard Riou, “Promenade in Isma‘ilia,” colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez : Voyage des souverains [...]*, by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercier et C^{ie}, 1869), between pp. 20 and 21.



Fig. 36

After Édouard Riou, “The Sovereigns’ Supper in Isma’ilia (Le souper des souverains à Ismaïlia,” colored lithograph, in *Inauguration du Canal du Suez: Voyage des souverains Voyage des souverains* [...], by Gustave Nicole (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1869). Photo provided by Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (1389-074).



Fig. 37

Fannière Frères, *Ferdinand de Lesseps' Ship*, 1869, silver, Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris.



Fig. 38

"Bust of Lieutenant Waghorn, by M. Vital Dupray on a Pier in Port Sa'id," in *L'Illustration: journal Universel* (23 December 1869), p. 405.



Fig. 39

Charles Cordier, *Equestrian Statue of Ibrahim Pasha* (exhibited at the 1872 Paris Salon), bronze, al-Opera Square, Cairo. Photo by author.



Fig. 40

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Equestrian Statue of Muhammad 'Ali* (exhibited at the 1872 Paris Salon), bronze, Tahrir Square, Alexandria, in *Wikimedia*: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AlexMuhammadAli2.jpg> (Accessed 10 January 2019). Photo by Roland Ungar.



Fig. 41

Charles Fuller, *Equestrian Statue of Sultan 'Abdul 'aziz*, 1872, bronze, Beylerbeyi Palace, Istanbul, in “Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt,” by Klaus Kreiser, *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), p. 109.



Fig. 42

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Soliman Pasha Statue* (exhibited at the 1874 Paris Salon), bronze, in front of Military Museum, Citadel, Cairo. Photo by Nabil Elsayed.



Fig. 43

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Lazoghli Pasha Statue* (exhibited at the 1875 Paris Salon), bronze, Lazoghli Square, Cairo. Photo by Aladin Abdel Naby.



Fig. 44

Charles Cordier, *Egyptian Fountain, Personification of the White Nile, the Blue Nile, and the Nile in the Figures of a Nubian Woman, Abyssinian Woman, and Egyptian Peasant Woman* (location unknown), plaster model (exhibited at the 1869 Salon), location unknown, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), p. 170, n. 237.



Fig. 45

Louis-Messidor Petitot, *Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV*, erected 1836, bronze, Versailles, in e-monumen.net: <https://e-monumen.net/patrimoine-monumental/monument-a-louis-xiv-versailles/> (Accessed 15 January 2019).



Fig. 46

Charles-Pierre-Victor Pajot, *Equestrian Statue of Napoleon I*, erected 1867, bronze, Montreau-Fault-Yonne, in e-monumen.net: <https://e-monumen.net/patrimoine-monumental/monument-a-napoleon-ier-montereau-fault-yonne/> (Accessed 15 January 2019).



Fig. 47

After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *The Battle of Konia*, ca. 1948, bronze bas-relief, al-Opera Square, Cairo, in *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*, by Khaled. Fahmy (Cambridge Middle East studies, 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pl. 4, p. 152.



Fig. 48

After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *Taking of Saint Joan of Arc*, ca. 1948, bronze bas-relief, al-Opera Square, Cairo, in *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*, by Khaled. Fahmy (Cambridge Middle East studies, 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pl. 2, p. 64.

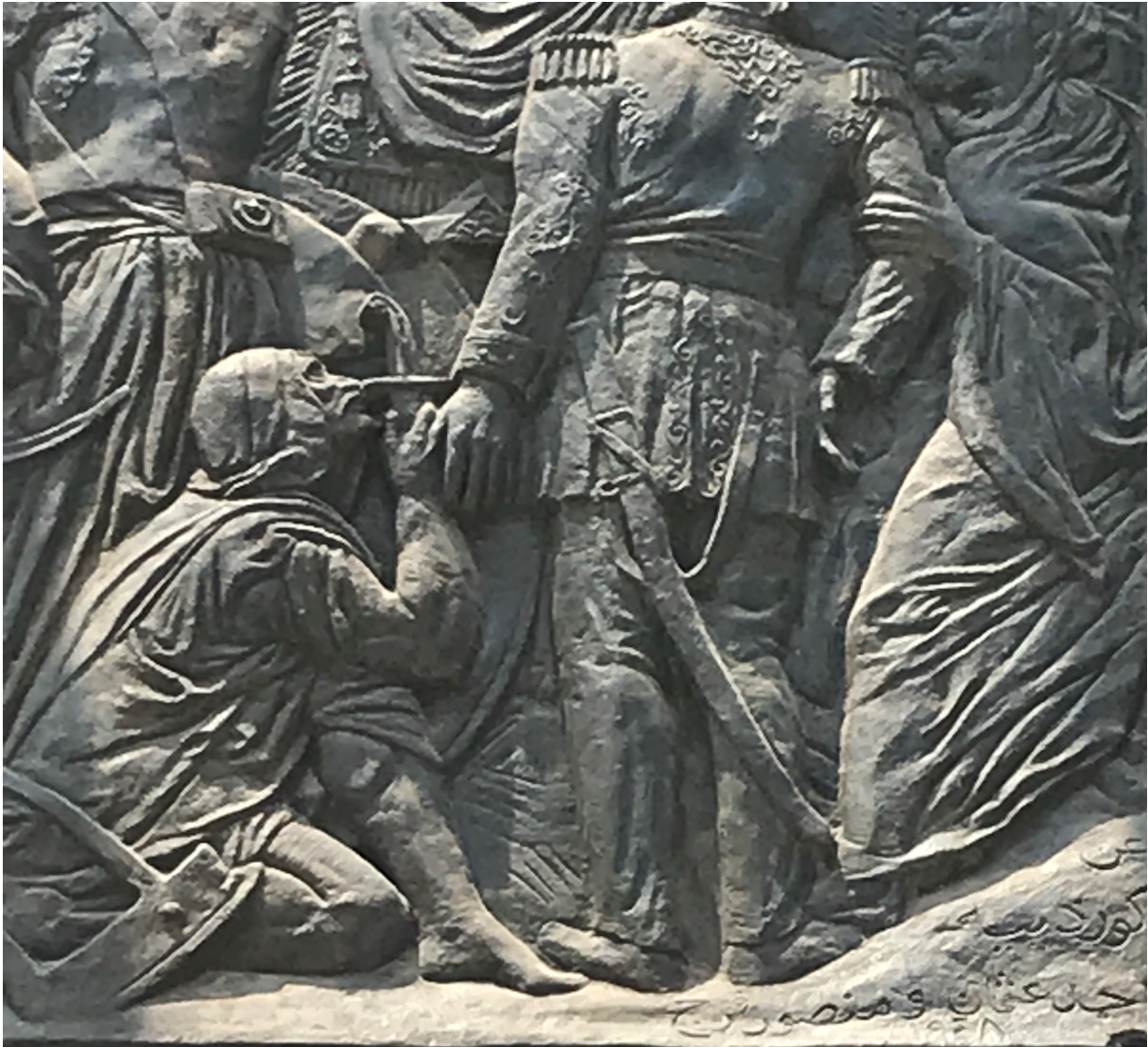


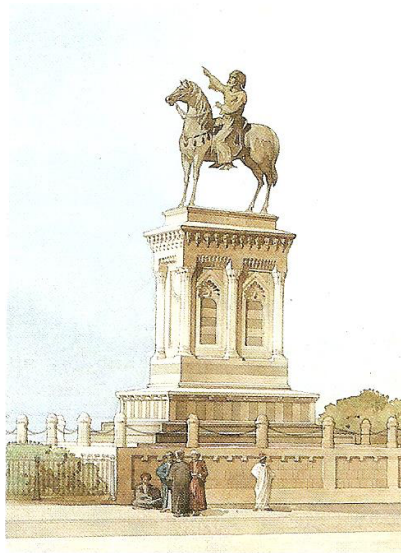
Fig. 49

After Charles Cordier, executed by Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag, *The Battle of Konia*, bronze bas-relief, Signature Detail “After Cordier Ahmad Osman and Mansour Farag,” al-Opera Square, Cairo. Photo by author.



Fig. 50

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Louis XII* (exhibited at the Paris Salon 1869), bronze bas-relief, in front of the Hotel de la Ville bronze, Compiègne, in Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_Alfred_Jacquemart#/media/File:Compiègne_Bas-relief_2.jpg (Accessed 11 January 2019).



40. Monument d'Ibrahim Pacha,
1872. Aquarelle.

Fig. 51

After Ambroise Baudry, *Ibrahim Pasha Monument*, watercolor, in *L'Egypte d'un architecte: Ambroise Baudry, 1838-1906*, ed. by Leconte Crosnier, Marie-Laure, and Mercedes Volait, (Paris: Somogy Editions d'art, 1998), p. 62.



Fig. 52

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart, *Lions at Kasr al-Nil Bridge*, erected 1873, bronze, Kasr al-Nil, Cairo. Lehnert & Landrock, manual reproduction from a serie[s] of negative taken 1904 in Tunis or 1924 in Egypt.”

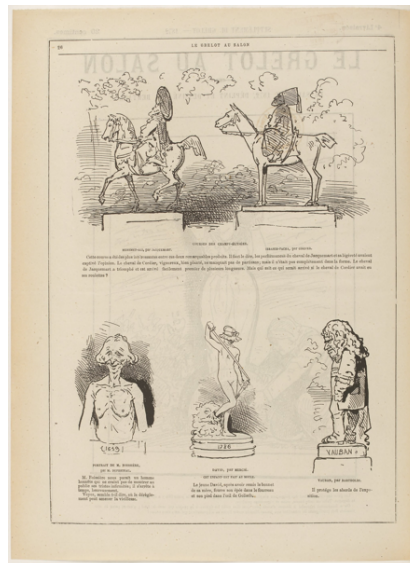


Fig. 53

Le Grelot Au Salon de 1872: le Salon de 1872 / dépeint et dessiné par Bertall (Paris, 1872), p. 26.

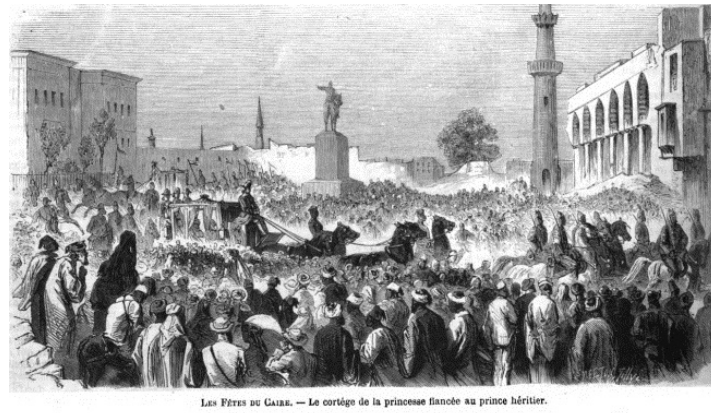


Fig. 54

“Celebrations of Cairo, the Procession of the Princess and Crown Prince,” in *L'Illustration* (22 February 1873), p. 128.



Fig. 55

“Ibrahim Pasha’s Statue, at Midan Azbak,” in *Les Cahiers d'histoire Egyptienne* (Cairo: Dist. by Au Bouquiniste Oriental, 1948), between page 56 and 57.



Fig. 56

Charles Cordier, *Equestrian Statue of Ibrahim Pasha* (replica), bronze, Citadel, Cairo. Photo by author.



Fig. 57

Henri-Alfred Jacquemart, *Soliman Pasha Statue* (back side), bronze, in front of Military Museum, Citadel, Cairo. Photo by Nabil Elsayed.



Fig. 58

After M. J. A. Baucé, “Muhammad ‘Ali, Ibrahim Pasha, and Soliman Pasha,” engraving, in *L’Égypte au XIXe siècle: Histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim-Pacha, Soliman-Pacha (colonel Sèves)*, by Edouard Gouin (Paris: P. Boizard, 1847), frontispiece.



Fig. 59

“Soliman Pasha, Major General of the Egyptian Army under Ibrahim Pasha, a bronze statue by Henri-Alfred Jacquemart, No 2946, displayed out of competition, designed to decorate a Square in Cairo,” in *Albums des salons du XIXe siècle; salon de 1874*.

http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=ARCG0272 (Accessed 11 January 2019).



Fig. 60

“Mahomed-Bey Lazzogloer [Lazoghli Pasha], First Minister of Muhammad ‘Ali,” bronze statue by Henri-Alfred Jacquemart, No 3170, displayed out of competition, designed to decorate a public square in Cairo,” in *Albums des salons du XIXe siècle; salon de 1875*.

http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=ARCG0307 (Accessed 11 January 2019).



Fig. 61

Charles Landelle, *The Fallah Woman* (La femme fellah), date unknown, oil on canvas, Musée de Laval, Laval.



Fig. 62

Charles Cordier, *Fallah Women (Veiled and Unveiled) Going to Draw Water from the Nile*, ca. 1866, bronze, (location unknown), in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), pp. 168, n. 220 and 221.



Fig. 63

After D. Lancelot, “Relief plan of the Canal and Model of the Works. Suez Canal Company Pavilion, 1867,” engraving, in *L’Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. François Ducuing, vol. 1, no. 22 (Paris : Bureaux d’abonnements, 1868), p. 116.



Fig. 64

Alexandre Bida and E. Barbot, book cover, *Souvenirs d'Égypte* [...] (Paris Imprimerie Lemerancier et C^{ie}, 1851).

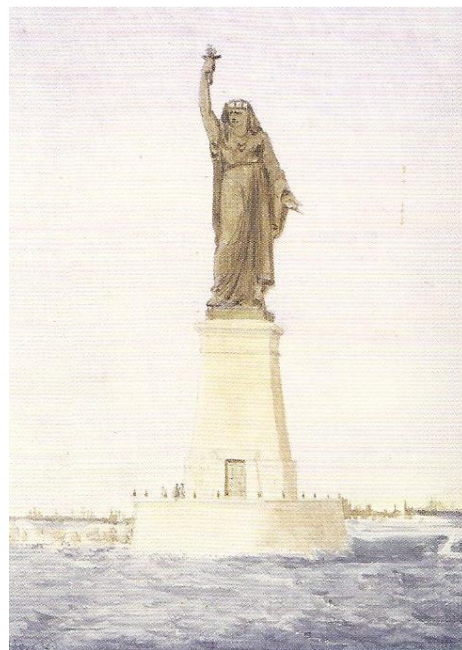


Fig. 65

Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, *Egypt Enlightening Asia*, 1869, watercolor glued on paper. Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, in *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal*, by Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009), p. 49. Photo by Christian Kempf.



Fig. 66

Léopold Savine, *Mustafa Kamil Monument*, bronze, Mustafa Kamil Square, Cairo. Photo by author.

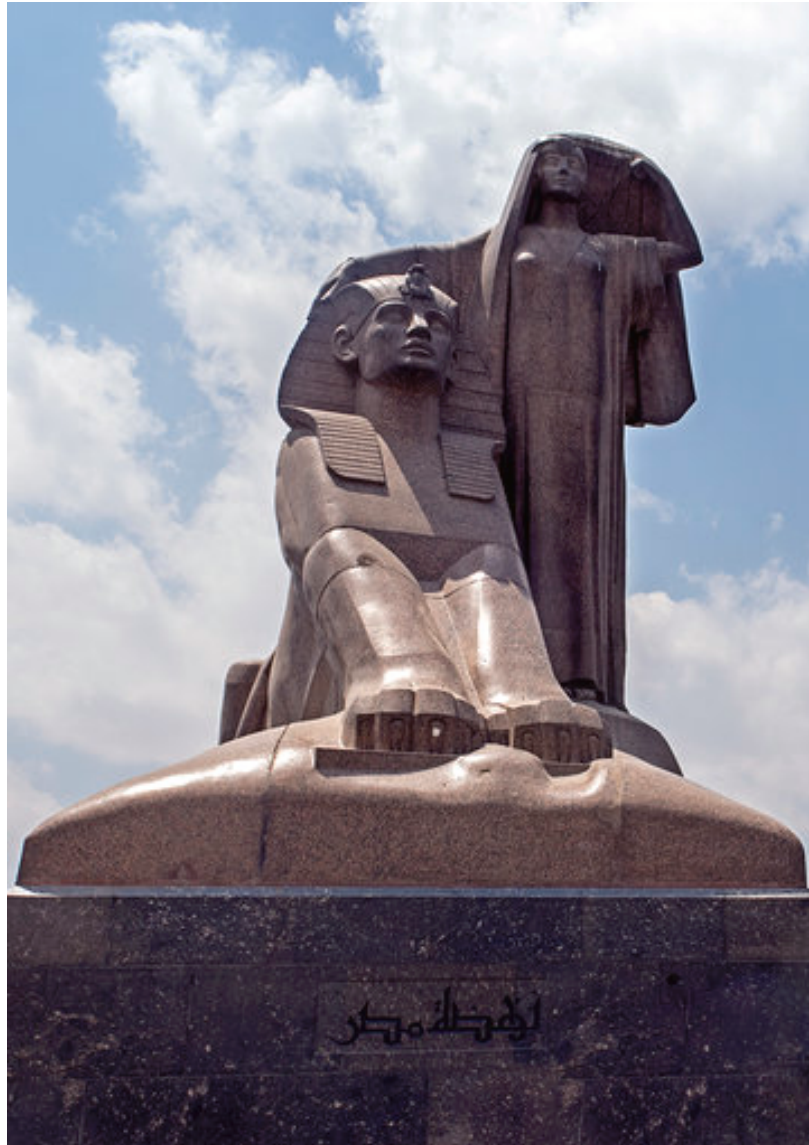


Fig. 67

Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, granite, erected in 1928, Giza, Egypt. Photo by Aladin Abdel Naby.



Fig. 68

Village of state labourers at Dayr al-Madinah (Deir el-Medina), *Tomb of Sennedjem, New Kingdom, Dynasty XIX*, fresco depicting agricultural scenes in the Fields of Ialu, in Getty Images: <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/egypt-ancient-thebes-village-of-state-labourers-at-dayr-al-news-photo/122221432> (Accessed 1 January 2020). Photo by DEA / G. SIOEN/De Agostini via Getty Images.



Fig. 69

After Conté, and Voyez, 1. “Says or Groom (Sâys ou palefrenier) 2. “Woman of the People (Femme du peuple),” engraving, in “État Moderne,” vol. 2, pl. A, *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, par ordre du gouvernement* (Paris: De L'imprimerie Royale, 1817), in New York Public Library Digital Collections: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-bd72-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99/book?parent=cfd4a7b0-c632-012f-8cef-58d385a7bc34#page/141/mode/2up> (Accessed 19 December 2019).

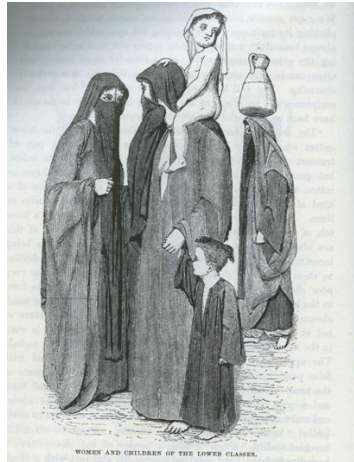


Fig. 70

After Edward William Lane, “Women and Children of the Lower Classes,” engraving, in *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, by Edward William Lane, 5th ed., ed. Edward Stanley Poole (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 58.



Fig. 71

After Emile Prisse d’Avennes, *Fallah Woman*, color lithograph, in *Oriental album. Characters, costumes, and modes of life, in the valley of the Nile*, by James Augustus St. John and Émile Prisse d’Avennes (London: James Madden, 1851), pl. 13.



Fig. 72

After Prisse d'Avennes. *Female of the middle-class carrying water from the Nile*, color lithograph, in *Oriental album. Characters, costumes, and modes of life, in the valley of the Nile*, by James Augustus St. John and Émile Prisse d'Avennes (London: James Madden, 1851), pl. 14.



Fig. 73

After Alexandre Bida, *A Fallah Woman*, color lithograph, in *Souvenirs d'Égypte [...]*, by Alexandre Bida and Emile Prosper Barbot (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerancier et C^{ie}, 1851).



Fig. 74

Alexandre Bida, *A Fallah Woman of Cairo*, color lithograph, in *Souvenirs d'Égypte* [...], by Alexandre Bida and Emile Prosper Barbot (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier et C^{ie}, 1851).



Fig. 75

Léon Belly, *Fallaheen Women by the Nile* (Femmes fellahs au bord du Nil), 1863, private collection.



Fig. 76

Charles-Emile-Hippolyte-Lecomte-Vernet, *Fallah Woman Carrying Her Child* (Femme fellah portant son enfant), 1864, oil on canvas, Musée La-Roche-sur-Yon.



Fig. 77

After Charles Landelle, *The Fallah Woman*, engraving, in *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing, vol. 2, no. 38, (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnements, 1868), p. 116.



Fig. 78

Charles Cordier, *Fallah Woman or Egyptian Woman with pitcher on her head*, ca. 1866, bronze, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), p. 167, n. 216.



Fig. 79

Charles Cordier, *Fallah Woman Going to Fetch Water from the Nile*, ca. 1866, bronze, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), p. 73.

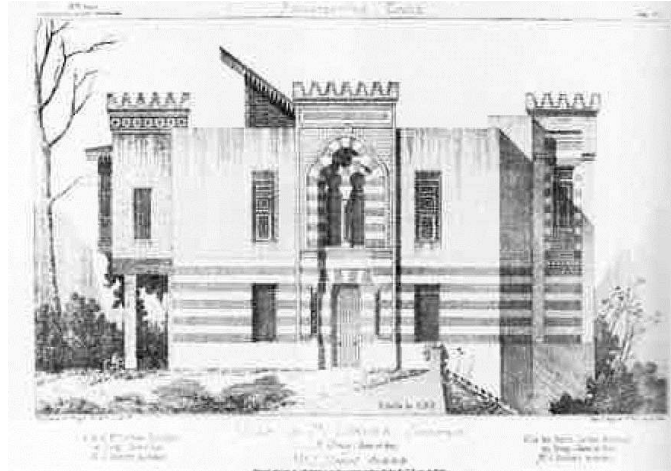


Fig. 80

Moorish Villa, in *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, by Laure De Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), p. 138.



Fig. 81

After Alfred-Henri Darjou, “Corvée fallahin preparing the route for the Empress to pass, on the way to Denderah,” in *Le Monde illustré* (27 November 1869), p. 345.

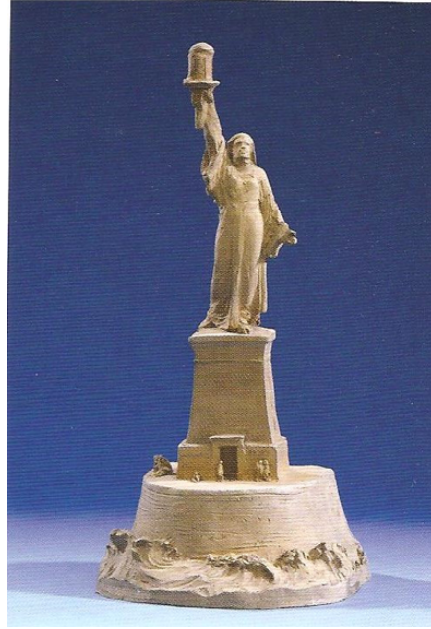


Fig. 82

Auguste Bartholdi, Maquette for *Egypt Bringing Light to Asia*, 1869, terra cotta, Colmar, Musée Bartholdi, in *Colossal: Engineering Modernity: Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, Panama Canal*, by Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby (Pittsburgh, Pa: Periscope, 2009), p. 49. Photo by Christian Kempf.



Fig. 83

Faustin Glavany, "The Temple of Peace," *L'Illustration* (23 November 1867), p. 336.



Fig. 84 a

Hippolyte Arnoux, “Port Sa‘id Lighthouse, photographed around 1880,” in *Les phares d’Égypte : laboratoire et conservatoire de l’ingénierie européenne du xix^e siècle*, by Claudine Piaton, *ABE Journal* [online], 5 | 2014: <https://journals.openedition.org/abe/704?lang=es>



Fig. 84 b

“The lighthouse past and current,” in *Port-Saïd: architectures XIXe-XXe siècles*, by Crosnier Leconte, Marie-Laure, Gamal al-Ghitani, Nagib Amin, Raymond Collet, and Arnaud Du Boistesselin. (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2006), p. 97.

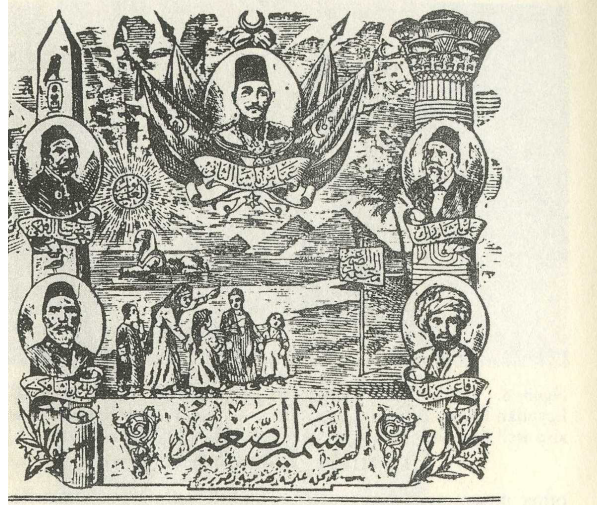


Fig. 85

Arabic Magazine Cover, 1899, in *Samir, Mickey, Sindbad, et les autres : Histoire de la presse enfantine en Égypte*, by Bertrand Millet (Le Caire : Centre d'études et de documentation économique juridique et sociale, c. 1987), p. 31.



Fig. 86

Le Lotus, *Revue Mensuelle*, no. 1 (April 1901), cover.



Fig. 87

Leopold Savine. *Mustapha Kamil Monument* detail, bronze, Mustafa Kamil Square. Photo by Aladin Abdel Naby.



Fig. 88

Henri-Alfred Jacquemart, *Auguste Mariette Monument*, bronze, Pas-de-Calais, Boulogne-sur-Mer, in Wikimedia: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Pyramide_Mariette-Pacha_\(Boulogne-sur-Mer\)#/media/File:Auguste_Mariette_statue,_Boulogne-sur-Mer.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Pyramide_Mariette-Pacha_(Boulogne-sur-Mer)#/media/File:Auguste_Mariette_statue,_Boulogne-sur-Mer.jpg) (Accessed 1 January 2020).



Fig. 89

Medal after the Seal of the First French Republic, 1792. Private Collection. Artist Historic Object. (Photo by Fine Art Images/Heritage Images via Getty Images)

<https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/marianne-revolution?sort=mostpopular&mediatype=photography&phrase=marianne%20revolution>
(Accessed 7 February 2020).



Fig. 90

Mahmud Mukhtar, *Nahdat Misr*, 1920 (clay model exhibited at the 1920 Paris Salon), in *Al-Mathal Mukhtar*, by Badr al-Din Abu Ghazi (Cairo: al-Dar al-Qawmiya lil-Ṭiba‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964), between pp. 80 and 81.

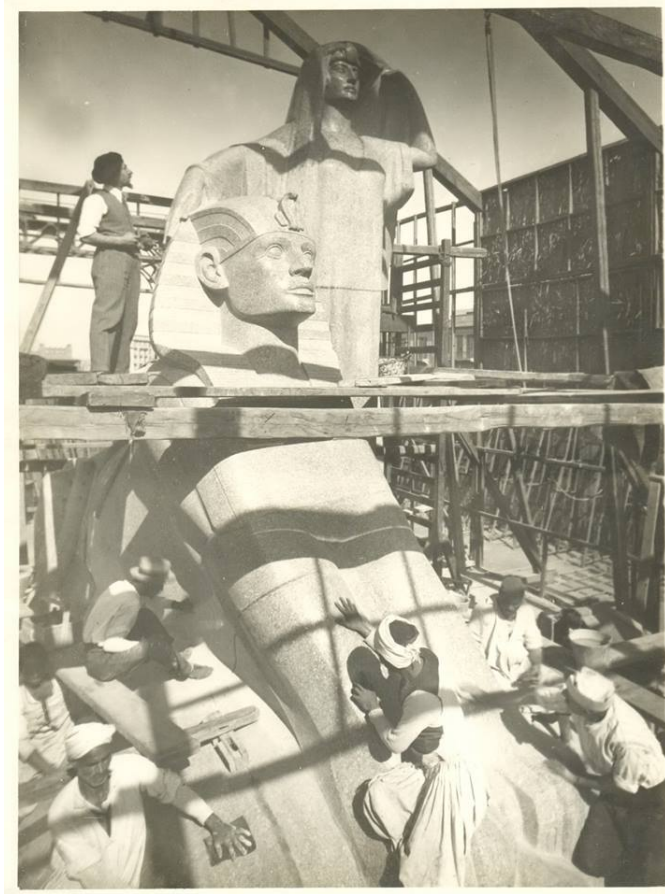


Fig. 91

“Work on *Nadat Misr* on the Eve of its Unveiling,” *Al Hilal* (May 1928), p.773, in *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt*, by Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2004), p. 67.